

THE CONTROL OF IMMIGRATION INTO
CANTERBURY FOR THE PERIOD
1850-1853.

by

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PREFACE

The manner in which the Canterbury settlement was founded has stimulated many historical enquiries and the zenith of this interest was reached in our centennial year. Much of the ground has been covered time and time again, because the story is one of a whole plan unfolding. Every aspect of Canterbury's early history takes the purpose of the founders as its reference point and this is particularly so in the question of immigration control. To reach my conclusions I have had to follow where many more able have led, before branching out on my specific enquiry. The scope for original research in this topic is narrow and I have not been able to bring forward very much new evidence.

At the outset I planned to review immigration control for the period 1850-1875, but when I discovered that extant shipping lists covered most of the immigrant ships from England for the years 1850-1853, and little more, I decided to concentrate on the period of Association control.

In the first two chapters I had to use many secondary sources of information and this I found rather tedious and unsatisfying. I could not lay my hands on really vital information concerning the land purchasers, especially those who entered Canterbury from the neighbouring settlements. My figures for the land purchasers are estimated from limited information as are my inferences concerning the economic status of the shagroons in Canterbury.

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I enjoyed writing Chapters III and IV. The real evidence was readily at hand - all written in the ornate script of the period - and in each bundle of papers there was something new and interesting. My case would have been enormously strengthened had the application forms of steerage passengers been available. From these forms I could have discovered the areas from which the steerage immigrants were drawn, exactly how many of them were nominated and on what references, (if any) the Association based its selections. It seems merely a happy chance that there is extant a list which gives the 'home' addresses of some of the land purchasers.

Although this thesis gives us a statistical survey of Association immigration, I was always more interested in the personalities whom I came to know as I delved into old correspondence. The impressions that I gained lent an atmosphere of reality to the work of research. I formed views on topics that had little relation to my specific enquiry, an example being the Godley-Thomas dispute. It was in this question that I discovered the importance of personal bias in the writing of history. Before I read the evidence (and after) I warmly supported Thomas.

At this point I feel bound to make a confession. As a descendant of a family who landed in Canterbury in 1850 I have prejudices concerning some of the values that have been handed down from those early days. When I started this thesis my bias caused me to be very sceptical of the Association and all its works. I pounced gleefully on its shortcomings and, even now,

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I think that my praise for its good points was rather grudging.

I have tried in this work, to trace all the forces that controlled immigration into Canterbury before and during the period in which the Canterbury Association had the destiny of the settlement in its grasp. I have outlined the Association's hopes for the settlement and have commented on their desirability in a New Zealand context. The Association wished to make Canterbury a cut above the rest of New Zealand and I have narrated its course of action and analysed the results. My main questions were directed at the aims and achievements of the colonising body. The habits that characterise a mature society are hard to acquire and are easily lost. It is my opinion that, despite its many failings, the Association was successful in transplanting a culture of quality; a culture strong enough to transcend the impact upon it of a typical colonial environment.

CHAPTER I

THE PERIOD OF UNCONTROLLED IMMIGRATION

In their quest for a suitable area for a settlement, the founders of the Canterbury Association seemed to demand a natural contradiction. They desired a large block of land blessed with a good harbour, fertile soil and a pleasant climate, but no doubt hoped that it would not already be settled. (1) Their idealistic policy could be realised satisfactorily only in the systematic colonisation of a vacant area, a condition not fulfilled by Canterbury in 1850.

The Association's scheme of immigration was to pivot on its exclusive control of land sales and pasturage licenses and its careful selection of immigrants. The high price of land (£3 an acre) was aimed to discourage the speculator and to foster that good economic hierarchy that would result from the inscrutable working of the Wakefield sufficient price. The manner in which the land sales fund was to be appropriated was calculated to appeal only to bona fide supporters of the

(1) "The main object of the Association is, and will continue to be, the creation of a colony distinguished from others, not only by unity of religious belief, but, as far as possible, by the good conduct, good character and respectability of its members." Canterbury Papers No.3, 1850 p.46.

scheme in its entirety - the transplanting of a cross-section of staunch Anglican society into a colony that would foster the best traditions of English rural life. (2)

A full view of the Association's immigration control must necessarily include the pre-settlement scene. The raw material was likely to affect the final product. Reports from early Canterbury and about every aspect of life there were vital to any immigration from England, especially that of the well-educated classes. (3)

Long before 1849, when Captain Joseph Thomas selected Canterbury for the site of the Association's settlement, certain natural forces and the workings of the unsystematic colonisation that was so abhorrent to Edward Gibbon Wakefield, had sprinkled the area with a small, mixed population. It was a settlement of the type depreciated by Edward Gibbon Wakefield as "owing its national character in fact to chance, and that chance a very unpromising one." (4)

Some four hundred years before the advent of the Association the Moriori and Maori folk wanderings caused Canterbury to suffer its earliest settlements. The South Island native population does not seem to have been high at any

(2) This view is echoed by Archbishop Selwyn. "My advice is plant the country and let the town grow of itself." Extract from his letter to "The Times", 19th December, 1849, quoted in Canterbury Papers, p.24.

(3) "Emigration depends in a great measure on the reports which the settlers send to this country." Edward Gibbon Wakefield, "A View of the Art of Colonisation," (1914 edition) p.132.

(4) Ibid., p.113.

time, mainly for climatic reasons.⁽⁵⁾

Duff estimates the South Island Maori population in 1820 at a minimum of eight to ten thousand.⁽⁶⁾ The ferocity of the southern campaigns of Te Rauparaha, which included the sacking of Keisepohia and Onawe, probably reduced the effective population by one half. This catastrophe was followed by an equally effective, but more insidious, depopulation which seems to have been due to European contact. "It is convenient to attribute this remarkable decrease to epidemics, such as measles, tuberculosis, syphilis, or other physical causes such as over-indulgence in rum, or loose living."⁽⁷⁾ It was certainly most unfortunate for the Southern Maoris that undesirable European influences appeared when defeat had scattered their tribes and broken their morale.

In 1845 the native population of the South Island was computed by Edward Shortland to be 1923.⁽⁸⁾ The Canterbury Maoris were described by George Duppa as being "few in number and much more advanced than their northern neighbours, being for the most part cloathed [sic] in European dress, speaking English and using whaleboats which they procure from the whalers in exchange for potatoes and wood."⁽⁹⁾

Duppa's report implies the influence of a whaling

(5) Roger Duff, "South Island Maoris," being part of a general survey entitled "The Maori People Today" edited by I.L.G. Sutherland, p.375.

(6) Ibid.

(7) Ibid.

(8) G.8. New Zealand Duplicate Despatches, (National Archives)p.934.

(9) G. George Duppa, Report on Canterbury, 4th Aug., 1841. N.Z.C. 1/41 p. 568 (National Archives.)

community. From about 1790 onwards the tentacles of maritime trade began to reach out to New Zealand and in the 1830's a thin trickle of whalers and other seafaring flotsam and jetsam settled on the shores of Banks Peninsula. The Piraki [sic] Log kept by Captain George Hempleman from 1835 to 1844 gives us our only authoritative information about the Canterbury whaling community. It seems that soon after February 1836, a shore base for whaling boats was established at Peraki and until the close of the diary, (10) the station was visited by an annual average of ten ships. Fifty-three hands are mentioned as 'being' on the books' but it seems likely that the average number on the station was nearer twenty. The Log suggests that Hempleman and his station hands devoted most of their attention to whaling. There are a few references to gardening and the rearing of wild pigs but no mention of real farming is made.

This small white community did not reveal the usual English bias against miscegenation. The gradual intermingling of the new-comers with the remnant native population caused harm as we have seen, but it suggested that a process of (11) assimilation would in time solve the native problem. The arrival of increasing numbers of whites, however, interrupted this trend long before it had run such a full course. The

(10) F.A. Anson, The Piraki Log, pp. 10-12.

(11) "Ever since Europeans first visited these shores there has been a tendency of the part-Maori group to increase at the expense of the pure-Maori group." Duff, op. cit., p.381.

existence of a mixed native population added complexity to the composition of the Canterbury population which confronted the Association's settlers.

After 1839, when the news of the proposed colonisation of New Zealand reached Sydney, some speculators purchased tracts of land on Banks Peninsula from the natives, to breed horses and cattle, both for export overseas and for sale to expected colonists. "Amongst these breeders were such well-known men as Messrs. Cooper, Holt and Rhodes." ⁽¹²⁾ The virgin soil of Canterbury first yielded to the white man's plough in 1840 when Malcolm McKinnon cultivated a few acres at Riccarton on behalf of the Sydney firm of Abercrombie, but this venture was short-lived.

The French contact with New Zealand dates from the visits of de Surville to the Bay of Islands in 1769. In 1838, the French whaling ship "Cachalot" under the command of Captain Jean Langlois lay for some weeks in the land-locked waters of Port Cooper. During this sojourn the mariner's imagination became engrossed with ambitious commercial projects. For the equivalent of £250, Langlois acquired what he believed to be the whole of Banks Peninsula. His purchase was concluded with more or less irresponsible individuals, and was loose in its terms and light in its payments. It seems that Langlois thought of his flag only as a protection to trade, and that commercial safety

(12) T. M. Hocken, The Early History of New Zealand, p. 221.

was a more powerful motive with him than the territorial aggrandisement of his country.

On his return to France, Langlois received official blessing for a colonising project and induced several business men to form the Nanto-Bordelaise Company. France in that period was, like England, submerged in a deep wave of industrial and agricultural depression. The Nanto-Bordelaise Company appealed to the poor peasant and the unemployed artisan and by January 1840, sixty-three emigrants including a sprinkling of (13) Germans had concentrated at Rochefort. This group comprised thirty men, eleven women and twenty-two children, most of whom (14) were from the lower classes.

The financial prospects held out to these settlers were not bright and the expedition was poorly equipped. The whole movement lacked efficient organisation and real drive, as it was but a colonising feeler put forward by the cautious government of Louis Philippe. The Company's regulations cramped the settlers in an untolerable manner. They had very little stock, no tools save those that the company supplied at an exorbitant price (15) and they were restricted to small sections of land. These circumstances forced the settlers to work for the company at very low wages, so the Akaroa colony started its career in a very unpromising and inhibited way. There was not one ploughman (16) amongst the settlers. Although they arrived early, the

(13) T. Lindsay Buick, *The French at Akaroa* p. 51.

(14) Captain Stanley of H.M.S. *Britomart* to Governor Hobson, 7th Sept., 1840. (Copy held by Lands and Survey Dept., Christchurch.)

(15) Buick, *op. cit.*, p. 157.

(16) *Ibid*, p. 171.

French settlers did not seem likely to be a powerful economic force in Canterbury. Their city origins combined with the poor leadership of the Company, to reduce both the scope and shape of their meagre impression on the peninsula's landscape. (17)

"The English inhabitants of the Peninsula at the time of the landing of the French settlers amounted to eighty-four adults and their children." (18) The presence of these settlers helped in a legal sense to justify Governor Hobson's proclamations of the 21st of May, 1840, to the effect that the full sovereignty of the islands of New Zealand was thenceforth vested in the Queen, as the assertion with respect to the South Island, rested on the grounds of native consent, right of discovery and the fact of settlement. (19) Despite this assertion, the news of the projected establishment of a French colony caused the Colonial Government to act swiftly. It would have been unwise to let the French immigrants settle without the knowledge that they were placing themselves under the British flag. On the 11th of August, 1840, five days before the arrival of the French, a small group, headed by the newly-appointed magistrate of Akaroa, reasserted the proclamation of British sovereignty, as the Union Jack broke free, above the silence of Green Point.

The features of the East Coast of the South Island had been well-known and charted since Captain Cook's voyage to these parts in 1770, but very little was promulgated about the

(17) Ibid., p.407.

(18) Akaroa and Banks Peninsula 1840-1940, (this book which includes many of the writings of H.C.Jacobson was published by the Akaroa Mail Coy.) p.73

(19) J. Rutherford, The Treaty of Waitangi and the acquisition of British Sovereignty in New Zealand, p. 24.

interior before 1840. Government surveyors and officials followed the flag south, exploring and reporting on the previously neglected South Island hinterland. They issued such favourable reports concerning the natural resources of the peninsula and plains, that a further ripple of immigration resulted. The plain was described as "an extent of country stretching along the shore about 300 miles and inland as far as the eye can reach, perfectly plain and waiting only for the plough and flocks and herds, to yield an enormous return to anyone who may be inclined to venture an outlay of capital upon it." (20) In a letter to the Colonial Secretary, Lord Stanley, written in November 1843, Lieutenant Willoughby Shortland remarked that "the peninsula itself was a most valuable locality, and that Akaroa was one of the most important harbours and stations in the island, if not the most important." (21)

Pastoral farmers, including those mentioned from Australia, began to arrive with their livestock. By 1843, the land policy of the New Zealand Company had caused a few dissatisfied settlers to drift down from the north and squat on and around the peninsula. The Deans brothers and their servants Gebbie and Manson arrived in February, 1843. Free from the Company's restricting control they applied their Scots' diligence to the task of carving out a mixed farm in the

(20) G. George Duppa, op. cit. p.567.

(21) T. M. Hocken, op. cit. p.226.

vicinity of Riccarton Bush. That same year witnessed the arrival of the Sinclairs, Hays, Greenwoods, Prebble and McQueen;⁽²²⁾ most of whom were pastoral farmers.

The reports of early squatters caused the thin trickle of immigration to continue in the 'forties and some settlers actively promoted small-scale colonising ventures. Henry Smith and C.B. Robinson, the ex-Magistrate at Akaroa, chartered the ship "Monarch" and landed fifty-two English passengers at Akaroa in April 1850. These colonists settled in and around the township, although "some soon removed to other parts of the country."⁽²³⁾

In June 1849 Captain Thomas began the task of preparing the selected area for the Canterbury settlement. The labour requirements of the Association's public works, such as the construction of roads and immigration barracks, caused Captain Thomas to import white and native labour. Although the natives returned to their North Island homes on completion of the contract, this was not necessarily the case with the whites. The tone of Thomas's comments on the carpenters suggests that he considered them as possible settlers,⁽²⁴⁾ and in the case of labourers employed on survey work he seems to have made this quite definite.⁽²⁵⁾ It seems anomalous that labourers were to be selected so carefully in England whilst in Canterbury the only

(22) C. R. Straubel, *The Schooner Richmond*, pp. 2-7.

(23) Akaroa Mail Coy., op. cit. p. 126.

(24) "The carpenters, [from Hobart] are from what I have seen of them, good workmen and well-behaved."
J. Thomas to T. C. Harrington, 26th Jan., 1850. (N.Z.C.2/51 National Archives.)

(25) "A good many men formerly employed on the surveys will be available." [as labourers in the organised colony.] Thomas to Harrington 15th May 1849. N.Z.C. 2/51 National Archives.

qualification was the will to do a good day's work. Godley made a move to exclude undesirable labourers by instructing Thomas "to supply with goods and provisions only those in the immediate employ of the Association."⁽²⁶⁾

As well as controlling the early surveying and public works, Thomas had to ensure an adequate food supply for the early stages of the organised settlement. Since the early squatters could not provide enough produce, Thomas determined to admit colonial stockmen, but in deference to association policy, he made no promises.⁽²⁷⁾

The early settlers were both a help and a hindrance to the Canterbury Association in its tasks of recruiting colonists and establishing the settlement. The squatters could supply food, stock and valuable information to the colonists. They rendered their greatest service by giving written and oral statements that backed up the eulogistic reports on all aspects of the proposed site appearing in the Association's publicity organ, "The Canterbury Papers." The experiences of the French colonists, as well as those of the Deans brothers and numerous visitors, were cited as testimony of the mildness of the climate.⁽²⁸⁾ The Deans brothers lent solid weight in matters

(26) Godley to Thomas, 14th Nov., 1850. (Copy in Lands and Survey Dept., Christchurch.)

(27) "I shall encourage the introduction of sheep and cattle from the neighbouring settlements, furnishing each party that arrives with a copy of the circular, so that they will clearly understand that they are not entitled to any remuneration on being called upon to remove from lands not their own." Thomas to Harrington, 8th Sept., 1849.

(28) "The growth of vines at Akaroa, which were planted by the French colonists in the depth of winter, almost proves the mildness of the climate in that place." Canterbury Papers, Feb., 1850. p.11.

(29)
agricultural and pastoral to E. Jerningham Wakefield's
view that the east coast of the Middle Island "held out greater
attractions to colonists than any part of New Zealand." (30)

Views contrary to the published assessment of the site,
such as Tuckett's (31) and objections to the validity of the
Association's scheme made by John Deans, (32) were ignored. The
early settlers and visitors were quoted only when they could
help swell the hymn of praise.

The problems raised by the presence of pre-Association
settlers were varied. In the past, the existence of a native
population in a projected colony had aroused Colonial Office
opposition. By founding Church colonies in New Zealand Wakefield
mollified these enemies who wished to maintain the country as
a missionary preserve. (33) The religious respectability of the
projected colony in Canterbury, was such that the Association

- (29) "Our opinion is that in no part of the New Zealand
Company's territories can equal crops of grain be grown
at so small an expense as they can here on the open plain."
Deans brothers to Thomas 20th Jan., 1849.
"All kinds of stock thrive amazingly." Ibid.
- (30) E. Jerningham Wakefield, *Adventures in New Zealand* 1839
to 1844, p. 234. (quoted in *Canterbury Papers*, p. 12.)
- (31) "In his opinion the harbour was not sufficiently sheltered;
the plains were not readily accessible from it; and whilst
there was undoubtedly good land upon them, there was much
indication of undrainable raupo swamp, especially in the
central position of the plains." Hocken, op. cit., p.150.
- (32) "If there should be a settlement formed here, small sections
of 50 or 100 acres would never do. Some wooded land near
to harbours may be worth £1. or 30/- an acre, but grassland
like this should be sold in sections of 500 to 1000 acres
and the price about 10/- an acre." John Deans to John
Deans Senior, 28th Sept., 1845. (quoted in *Pioneers of
Canterbury*, Deans Letters 1840-54, p. 98.
- (33) W. A. Carrothers, *Emigration from the British Isles*, p.123.

received a gracious award of Letters Patent on the 13th of November, 1849. The native land question was tackled by the New Zealand Company. In the much maligned Kemp's Deed of 12th June 1848, the Maoris signed away a huge block of the South Island, including all of Canterbury except Banks Peninsula, for a paltry £2000. The scanty reserves left to them on the Peninsula seem to accord with the contemporary view that the Canterbury Maoris would soon die off. The published Association native policy was, however, most paternal. The Maoris, "though contributing nothing as land purchasers to the funds from which the resources of the colony will be provided, will be not less objects of the Association's care than the European population."⁽³⁴⁾

The disputed title to Banks Peninsula delayed Thomas in the comprehensive surveys urged by Archbishop Selwyn as being vital in the attraction of land-purchasers. The squatters' land claims could readily be subjected to Association administration but the property title of the Nanto-Bordelaise Company was a problem that could possibly cause political repercussions. In outlining his difficulties, Thomas pointed out that "the French have a claim to 30,000 acres on the Peninsula and as there appears to have been no authorised agent on their part for some time in this country, I have been unable to ascertain their boundary. The natives occupying the Peninsula say that they sold the land to the French but have never been paid for it; but deny ever having sold it to the English."⁽³⁵⁾ Political supporters in

(34) H. F. Alston, Secretary of Canterbury Assn., to J. R. Godley 1st Oct., 1850.

(35) Thomas to William Fox, Principal Agent for the New Zealand Company, 20th Feb., 1849.

England so mollified diplomatic circles that the hard-fisted New Zealand Company was able to extinguish the French title for £4,500 on the 30th of June, 1849. Certain buildings and the land appurtenant thereto remained in French hands.⁽³⁶⁾ These transactions gave the Association a virtually clean slate for its land sales policy,⁽³⁷⁾ although ethics surely suggested that consideration be given to squatters such as the Deans brothers who had carried out large-scale land improvements.

It had been advertised that "disunion in the Southern Colonies was to be avoided by the union of men on all points agreed as to religion and social polity."⁽³⁸⁾ The Canterbury Association's version of this ideal was that "none but persons of good character as well as members of the Church of England, shall form part of the population, at least in its first stage."⁽³⁹⁾ In practice this aim was nullified from the outset by the sketchy⁽⁴⁰⁾ and mixed religious composition of pre-Association Canterbury, as it seemed unlikely that either the white population or the natives would be evicted - or of necessity converted to Anglicanism. Most Association statements in the Canterbury

(36) Sir George Grey, despatch to Earl Grey, 17th Feb., 1852.

(37) Fox in a letter to J.R. Godley dated 25th Jan., 1851 listed the land claims recognised by the N.Z. Coy., - some 3000 acres.

(38) G. B. Earp, Handbook for intending immigrants to the Southern Settlements of New Zealand, p. 235.

(39) Canterbury Papers, Feb., 1850, p. 19.

(40) In 1848 the religious composition of the Akaroa (Canterbury) district was as follows: Church of England 92, Wesleyan 12, other dissenting Protestant religions 87, Roman Catholics 69 and non-sectarian 5. Statistics of New Munster N.Z. 1841-8. No. 1.

Papers, implied the tabula rasa, awaiting the inscription of
promulgated policy⁽⁴¹⁾ although the existence of other religions
was hinted at.

The isolation and small population of early Canterbury raised obstacles in the path of organised religion, but during the 'forties several denominations conducted services whenever possible. In some cases the atmosphere was more hearty than pious. Captain James Bruce, the prosperous Akaroa publican, perhaps stated the case for most of the Peninsula Anglicans when, in a heartfelt farewell to Archbishop Selwyn in 1848, he aligned the tavern bar and the altar. "Goodbye Sir, and welcome back to you. You're the gentleman as can give the Gospel a good shove to windward."⁽⁴²⁾ The French corvette L'Aube landed two Catholic priests at Akaroa in 1840 to initiate parish and missionary work. The Hays, Sinclairs and Deanses formed the nucleus of the future Presbyterian congregation of St. Andrews.

The implied hostility of the Association towards non-Anglicans was perhaps unjustly reflected in the sentiments

- (41) "They the colonists are afraid that as by one of the clauses, pasturage licenses are freely offered so soon as the first body of settlers are satisfied, persons from the other colonies may be coming in, of any and all denominations and thus that the unity of the Church of England in the settlement runs a risk of being disturbed."
John Hutt to Godley, 26th Jan., 1850.
- (42) T. M. Hocken, op. cit., p. 219.

of an old settler.⁽⁴³⁾ The fears of the early settlers were, however, groundless as the projected colony was not intended to be theocratically governed.⁽⁴⁴⁾ It is interesting to note that the scheme of furthering exclusively Anglican religious and education work departed from the theories of Wakefield who stressed the need for strict equality in religious provisions.⁽⁴⁵⁾

The social standards that the Association wished to establish in its colony were as exacting as its religious schemes - and as open to the influence of local conditions. In accordance with Wakefield's idea of making the Colony attractive to women,⁽⁴⁶⁾ they wished to avoid the rigours of colonial life "in which men drink and do not dress for dinner."⁽⁴⁷⁾ The writings of old settlers suggest a congenial social atmosphere in the early farming community but comforts were few and culture had to yield to the demands of hard toil. Akaroa at times witnessed the rough and tumble scenes of a whaling port and, despite the opposition of Thomas, a tavern was opened at Lyttelton in 1849. The Association seems to have ignored the established social atmosphere in its confidence that it could be swamped, so it spoke only of the projected ordered and polite society whose culture and charming way of life would attract superior citizens.

(43) "Mr. Godley was much disgusted to find five Scots families already settled in Canterbury." James Hay, *Reminiscences of Earliest Canterbury*, p. 94.

(44) "We do not desire to establish the Church in the colony in a position of secular authority." Alston to Godley, 1st. Oct., 1850.

(45) E. G. Wakefield, *op. cit.*, p. 57.

(46) *Ibid.* p. 156.

(47) *Canterbury Papers* No. 4 1850, p. 95.

The political background of early Canterbury was not likely to affect the plans of the Association very seriously. The Maoris adhered to their tribal organisation; the French settlers were ruled by their officials and the squatters fell between the twin prongs of the New Zealand Company and the Crown. Perhaps like the Boers, early Canterbury settlers sought to avoid rule. The Canterbury Association, however, took the Wakefield view that paucity of government was a danger and that self-government was vital to the attraction of good colonists. (48)

The early settlers, though mixed in religion and nationality, seemed to live together in peaceful amity, and they displayed a community spirit on many social, and a few more dangerous, occasions. Relations with the natives were quite good, although a tremor from the Wairau Massacre temporarily disturbed both whites and Maoris. Law was maintained by the Magistrate at Akaroa and, as the population grew, he received assistance from residents who were appointed Justices of the Peace. "William Deans was placed in the Commission of the Peace for the Province of New Munster in the year 1850 and was the senior unpaid magistrate residing in this district. In that capacity he was summoned to take his seat in the Legislative Council of New Zealand but he declined to do so on the score of pre-occupation by his private affairs." (49)

This, in outline, was the character of the early Canterbury

(48) "It is impossible to colonise well without plenty of government." E. G. Wakefield, op. cit., p. 212.

(49) "Lyttelton Times," Obituary to Wm. Deans, 30th Aug., 1851.

settlement before the arrival of the first four ships. A definite way of life had not yet taken root. Local conditions and customs, however, were likely to be an important factor in the shaping of the Canterbury of the future; a factor that seemed to have been under-rated in the Association's blue-prints for a model society. The land, educational, religious and political systems were drawn up to meet the needs and to use the talents of a society based on class distinction, whereas the early settlers were accustomed to economic independence and were groping towards social and political equality.

CHAPTER II

LAND PURCHASERS AND THE ASSOCIATION

Despite the brevity of its title, this chapter is designed to fulfil a comprehensive purpose. It includes a brief history of the Canterbury Association and an outline of its earliest plans. From this background we can infer the type of settler that the Association wished to attract. In this chapter we trace the campaign to inyoke and maintain a flow of desirable land purchasers into the new settlement. We notice how the original theory had to be adapted and changed, and how the growing colony rejected the Association's inhibiting settlement plan and assumed a nature of its own. The numbers and sources of land purchasing immigrants who were admitted to the colony by the Association, are given as accurately as possible, and the chapter closes with an assessment of Canterbury's attractions for capital, when the Association handed over its control to the Provincial Council.

English society in 1848, like that of many contemporary European countries, was in a state of flux. A restless uneasiness had, for many reasons and in different ways, gripped many sections of the population.⁽¹⁾ Some European countries reacted to this uneasiness by treading the path of revolution

(1) Cambridge History of the British Empire, Vol.II pp.438-452.

but in England, Benthamism or utilitarian philosophy, was in the ascendant and the country moved towards a peaceful alleviation of the causes of unrest. The Benthamites in the sphere of colonial policy, known as the "colonial reformers," strongly recommended the systematic colonisation of the waste lands under the British flag, as an external solution to the poverty and discontent of certain English classes.

Unfortunately, even as late as the 1840's, the connotation of the word 'colony' continued to prevent many (2) admirable but economically anxious classes from emigrating. The theoretical basis for redeeming the discredit of colonial life had been laid by Wakefield since the publication of his 'Letter from Sydney' in 1829, and, was fully developed in his book 'A View of the Art of Colonisation' (1849). Practice, however, followed his theories in piecemeal fashion, and though the need for colonisation as an outlet increased in the 1840's, a strong prejudice against emigration to the colonies remained, especially in the upper classes.

The Church of England also fell victim to unsettling forces in the period following the passage of the Reform Bill. The Oxford or Tractarian Movement was a conservative attempt to save the established Church from the attacks of a wider (3) democracy. The Evangelical section of the Church of England

(2) E. G. Wakefield, A Letter from Sydney, pp. 47-54.

(3) M. W. Patterson, A History of the Church of England, p.400.

had played a strong part in colonial affairs but in the 1840's other parties of that Church also turned their attention to the colonies. It was felt that "in the event of disestablishment, the colonial churches would act as a steadying force in bar of disruption."⁽⁴⁾ By 1848 this great religious movement was ready to spread overseas.

The ^{San}conservation of the Oxford Movement and Wakefield's Benthamism fused in the genesis of the Canterbury Association. The ingenious Wakefield had drawn up a scheme for an exclusively Church of England settlement in 1843.⁽⁵⁾ He considered that the Established Church would act as a maturing influence in colonial society and would prove valuable for its hierarchical implications. Unfortunately he lacked the leader and the vital personal contacts to make this scheme a reality.

John Robert Godley's qualities of intellect and leadership, his sincere interest in the work of the "colonial reformers" and his staunch adherence to the general purpose of the Oxford Movement singled him out as the man for whom Wakefield was waiting. The two men met in November 1847 and pooled their gifts of intellect and experience in formulating a plan for the formation and operation of the colonising body which was named 'The Canterbury Association.'

The founders of the Association, albeit men with a religious motive, assumed the task of providing an attractive

(4) Ibid., p. 422.

(5) R. M. Garnett, "Edward Gibbon Wakefield," p.301.

colonial outlet for certain classes - the Church entered the "big business" of colonisation. The nature of the Association's general task can be reduced to very simple terms. Unrest provided a mass to be moved: many staunch Anglicans wished to emigrate. Before this mass could be moved the friction had to be reduced: the errors of previous colonisation had to be rectified and certain abuses removed. The mass was likely to display a certain inertia against a change of location, so force would have to be applied. The only forces at the disposal of the Association were those of attraction - the enticements of the scheme. Once in motion the mass would have to be accelerated so as to reach its destination: once invoked, the stream of emigration had to be directed from England into the colony in a flow that would ensure the success of the venture. These operations suggest the magnitude of the Association's tasks. The reward of the members was sought in the joy of achievement and control and in the shaping of the new colony in accordance with their own values. (6)

The regulations adopted by the Canterbury Association were framed to produce specific results. Some of these objectives can be deduced from the nature of Canterbury "sufficient price" set on rural land and the manner in which funds accruing

- (6) "The founders of the Colony of Canterbury, not being emigrants, are the Canterbury Association. It is not a joint-stock company; nor have its members any pecuniary interest in the undertaking. Their object as set forth in the charter, is 'founding the settlement of Canterbury in New Zealand'." Canterbury Papers, p. 240.

from land sales were appropriated. The Canterbury Plan of 1848 stated that all rural land in the block reserved was to be sold for £3 an acre ⁽⁷⁾ and the Royal Charter of 1849 regulated ⁽⁸⁾ the disposal of funds accruing from land sales. One third of such funds was to be spent on ecclesiastical and educational purposes, and a similar amount was set aside for the immigration fund. Ten shillings an acre was appropriated to offset miscellaneous expenses, such as the cost of the preliminary survey of the Association's block, early roads and public works and the expenses of the Association incurred in England. The remaining ten shillings ^{||} was the payment to the New Zealand Company for the actual land itself. These appropriations indicate the direction of the Association's attack on the problem of removing impediments to emigration.

Each appropriation aimed to solve a colonising problem. The Association early evidenced the reactionary belief that religious unity was vital to the success of the scheme. ⁽⁹⁾ As mentioned earlier, the religious composition of earliest Canterbury vitiated this ideal from the outset and the tenor of subsequent regulations and decisions proves that the desire for religious unity was not enforced. The appropriation of one pound an acre for ecclesiastical and educational purposes did no doubt serve the negative purpose of discouraging some from buying land in Canterbury, but its main aim was undoubtedly a positive

(7) Earp, op. cit. pp. 246-50.

(8) Charter of the Canterbury Association, p. 2. (Copy held in Lands and Survey Dept., Christchurch.)

(9) Earp, op. cit. p. 235.

one - to establish the Church firmly and immediately in the new colony and inaugurate systems of education based on its doctrines. The prospect of an attractive atmosphere, offering religious and educational advantages comparable to those left behind in England, was calculated to help the upper-class colonist resolve his pleasure-pain calculus in favour of emigration. (10)

In the language of the Royal Charter, "one of the objects of the Association is the extension of the power and privileges of the Church," (11) although a theocracy was not envisaged. Lyttelton quoted the episcopal arrangements as the "flower and crown of the whole plan." (12) It seems that the Association's religious addition to the plan of the "sufficient price" was merely an integral part of its plan to induce settlers from the best classes to emigrate to Canterbury. How unfortunate it was that the Association chose a financial imbecile for its bishop-elect!

The immigration of a supply of labour and the maintenance of a workable relationship between capital and labour were well-known aims of the Wakefield "sufficient price." The Association sought to avoid the distressing shortages of labourers and domestic servants experienced in other colonies. Each land purchaser could claim up to one half of his contributions to the

(10) "Many people had long thought of emigrating but waited until Canterbury should afford them the means of giving their sons the education of English gentlemen." Thomas Tancred to Lyttelton, 24th April., 1852 reprinted in "Lyttelton Times", 4th Sept., 1852.

(11) Charter of the Canterbury Association, p. 2.

(12) Lyttelton to Godley, 24th Nov., 1850 (Turnbull Library).

immigration fund for the passages of himself and his family, and the other half for the passages of his nominated labourers and/or domestic servants.⁽¹³⁾ The amount that could be thus drawn back was later reduced⁽¹⁴⁾ but the objects of the Association remained the same and were very clear. The use of the immigration fund to defray the passages of land-purchasers as well as those of labourers placed the whole control of shipping arrangements in the hands of the Association. This fact gave the Committee of Management every chance to control the composition of the ripples of emigration and enabled them to construct the new society on a balanced division of labour from the outset. The nominating privilege enabled the large purchaser to take out a following already organised into a miniature hierarchical society,⁽¹⁵⁾ this last reflecting what the Association wished to establish on a larger scale.

The delay in settling colonists on the land and the undue hardships of early pioneering were prominent among the causes inhibiting the emigration of the better classes. The Association's earliest moves in New Zealand betrayed its anxiety to reduce hardships and difficulties to a minimum. Captain Joseph Thomas, the Association's surveyor, was instructed to find an area for settlement with a good port and as far as possible

(13) Canterbury Papers, pp. 117-118.

(14) Ten per cent of every land-purchaser's contribution to the emigration fund was to be reserved to meet miscellaneous expenses connected with emigration. Minutes of Canterbury Association, 2nd Oct., 1851.

(15) "Sewell .. will take out much money and a large following, an isle of Wight Colony." Charles Wynne to Godley 29th March, 1850. Turnbull Library.

removed from native problems. (16) By April 1850, between six and seven hundred thousand acres in the selected Canterbury site had been surveyed. (17) Emigration barracks costing £1000 were erected for the reception of immigrants and Thomas showed such keenness to facilitate access to the plains as to cause considerable financial embarrassment to the Association. The manner in which the way was paved for even the earliest immigrants was reflected in Godley's despatch of the 23rd April, 1850. "With the exception of the road," he wrote "nothing will be left unfinished which is absolutely necessary for the reception of the settlers." (18) A modern opinion suggests that the reduction of hardships was carried to excess in Canterbury. (19) We shall see later that in England as well as in New Zealand, the miscellaneous fund was employed in the paternal policy of sweeping away the material impediments to colonisation.

The actual rural land price of £3 an acre revealed some of the Association's aims no less strikingly than did the specific allocations made from that price. It was obviously too high for a pastoral country, yet Canterbury's best potentialities lay in that direction. It seems that this price was set to

(16) Thomas, to Bishop of New Zealand, 20th April, 1849.

(17) Godley, Despatch, 23rd April, 1850.

(18) Ibid.

(19) "The plain fact is that nowhere in New Zealand were the qualities required elsewhere of the pioneer so little in demand or so little in evidence as in Canterbury, where a well-equipped, well-supplied and well-organised band of settlers merely landed at Lyttelton, walked a few miles over the hill, and squatted on a clear, open fertile plain that had already been pioneered for them." Mangaroa, "Star-Sun" 21st Oct., 1950.

avoid the appropriation of too much land so that the settlement would spread gradually from nucleated centres. In these close settlements the uplifting forces of church, school and gentry would be most effective. It was no doubt hoped that the carefully-selected hierarchical society would in time, through continued immigration, natural increase and growing prosperity, extend over the whole block and shape the distinctive destiny of Canterbury. The price of land in Canterbury carried many social implications, as the remarks of many Association members and colonists suggest. (20) Godley, in reporting on the selection of lands by the first body of settlers, said;- "..... the most satisfactory feature is that nearly the whole body have selected their land within a circle of four or five miles diameter..... the colonists appreciate the advantages of a moral and social kind which have been offered to them, and which dispersion would have prevented their enjoying to the utmost extent." (21)

The fact that early land sales were transacted only in England, together with statements of Association colonists and officials, makes it clear that it was strongly hoped that the colony would be built up by English immigration. Speaking of a neighbouring area, the "Lyttelton Times" revealed its adherence to controlled colonisation. "If the Kaikoura country is to be really colonised..... it must be properly surveyed and its character and

(20) "If you laid open all the Canterbury Plains to squatting as you propose, there would soon be no emigration from home no colonisation.....another Western Australia.... no hierarchy." E. G. Wakefield to Godley, 6th June 1851 (Turnbull Library.)

(21) Godley, Despatch, 28th Feb., 1851.

and qualities made known; above all emigrants must be brought from England, not enticed from the neighbouring settlements."⁽²²⁾

As the best classes were accustomed to active participation in English politics, they were very anxious that they should continue to enjoy this privilege in the new colony. At an early meeting of the Committee of Management, steps were taken to ensure them of this right, and subsequently strenuous efforts were made to secure the appointment of Canterbury settlers to the important Crown posts in the Colony. Earl Grey, the Colonial Secretary, suggested as much to Sir George Grey in a despatch stating that "it is the wish of His Majesty's Government that the founders of the Canterbury settlement may have every possible facility for carrying into execution their own views as to its government."⁽²³⁾ Within the settlement itself, the Association's policy was to attempt to minimise the strife between the governors and the governed.

"We have striven to avoid the faults and consequently disasters of all previous colonisers....by throwing all power into the hands of yourself and the colonists, leaving them to manage their own affairs their own way and retaining to ourselves only just that control which absolutely pertains to our situation as trustees of particular funds."⁽²⁴⁾ The Canterbury Association specifically aimed to include within its early membership a group well-fitted to assume the responsibilities of self-government and it was hoped that this group, in conjunction with a class of

(22) "Lyttelton Times," 25th Oct., 1851.

(23) Earl Grey to Sir George Grey, 17th Sept., 1850. (Copy in Lands and Survey Dept.)

(24) J.M. Hutt to Godley, 23rd Feb., 1851. (In Turnbull Library)

worthy gentry, would exercise a preponderant influence in the colony. From the beginning, the new society was to be fitted for its later political life. The Association wished to develop in Canterbury "reverence for authority, contentment with the law and a spirit of self-reliance and true liberty."⁽²⁵⁾ Naturally the Association had to retain control in many spheres for some time as it was pledged by the terms of the Charter to sell 1,000,000 acres of land in England alone and lay the foundations of an effective Church organisation before dissolving.⁽²⁶⁾

The Association adhered closely to Wakefield's advice and was unremitting in its efforts to attract the best classes into the Canterbury settlement. Although the needy were no doubt prepared to suffer temporary hardship to secure future gain, the wealthier classes were more likely to be conservative and compare their comfortable environment and circumstances at home with those offered in the colonies. The Association had to give definite proof that it would close the gap between the English and colonial ways of life before the economic prospects could entice the worthy capitalist to emigrate, and even then the transplanting process⁽²⁸⁾ had to be as painless as possible. That the gap would be closed if possible, was manifest in the Association's version of

(25) Canterbury Association despatch to Godley, 7th Sept., 1850.

(26) Royal Charter.

(27) Wakefield, op. cit., p. 136.

(28) "The Founders of Canterbury have, therefore, had a special view to the higher classes in the country and have attempted to make emigration, little more than if he, the emigrant, had merely shifted his residence from Sussex to Cumberland or Devonshire; little more than a change of natural scenery." Canterbury Papers, p. 241.

the sufficient price and in its promises of self-government.

The transplanting process was approached in a spirit of brisk efficiency and attention to detail. The eclectic plan revealed a carefully selected site with easy access, adequately surveyed and prepared for the reception and temporary housing of large numbers of colonists. Well-inspected, comfortable ships were available to transport colonists to Canterbury, where they could select their lands and settle in with a minimum of delay. The political, religious and social aims of the Association were such as to invite even the least adventurous colonist to enter or reject the scheme on its economic merits.

The vital test of the scheme lay beyond the removal of impediments. Despite the expense to the landowner that the Association's aspirations entailed, the economic attractions had to be effective. Throughout the whole period of Association control, the capitalists were, of course, the vital class, as their purchases of land set and maintained the plan in operation. The Association had to attract capital if the scheme were to succeed at all, and the capitalists had to be of the right type if the settlement were to develop along the lines desired by the Association. The market for Association land had to be carefully prepared. The Association had to take definite and expensive colonising steps to lend a note of sincere purpose to its theories. As the theory burst into the realm of practice, the works and aims of the Association had to be effectively publicised.

The imposing list of Association members, each name a

household word, was from the date of the first meeting on the 27th March 1848, a guarantee in itself. This body of distinguished gentlemen was extremely well-equipped to secure the passage of enabling political arrangements, and took rapid strides to gain control over a site for the proposed settlement. An agreement with the New Zealand Company was published on the 31st of May 1848⁽²⁹⁾ whereby the Company undertook to reserve one million acres to the Association on certain terms. The New Zealand Company retained the right to resume the lands unless the regulations as to rate of sale of lands were observed. As this agreement shrouded the whole scheme in uncertainty and appeared to be⁽³⁰⁾ deterring men from buying land, the regulations were relaxed.

The next arrangement was that sales should be made to the amount of £50,000 by the 31st of December 1850, and should⁽³¹⁾ continue annually at that rate. The surrender of the Company's charter was followed by the Canterbury Settlement Lands Act of the 14th of August 1850, which empowered the Association absolutely to dispose of the lands described in the schedule during a term of ten years, the rate of sale depending on the discretion of the Crown. This Act and the Charter of the Association dated 13th November 1849 swept away many legal barriers and gave the Association a mobile sovereignty in its affairs but the whole success of the scheme still hinged on the amount of land sold.

(29) Earp, op. cit., pp. 246-250.

(30) Canterbury Papers, pp. 60-61.

(31) Ibid.

Advertisements to entice the best elements into the Canterbury settlement appeared soon after the Association's early meetings. As the enabling political and legal arrangements were concluded and the actual concrete work of pioneering was commenced, the Association's propaganda was extended to ensure a good harvest of capitalists.

On the 31st of May 1848, the 'Plan of Colonisation' agreed upon between the Canterbury Association and the New Zealand Company was published. This document made evident the Association's right to sell lands, indicated the nature of the survey work to be undertaken and outlined the regulations governing land sales, and the application of the resultant funds. A fuller draft was later issued for public sale, ⁽³²⁾ and this draft, condensed, forms the preface to the "Canterbury Papers," established in 1850 to popularise the project, and at the same time to voice the opinions of the colonists. ⁽³³⁾ At no stage was the venture likely to fail on account of insufficient or diffident advertisement.

The manner in which the scheme of colonisation was advertised indicates fairly clearly the classes of capitalist to whom the Association's appeal was directed. Straubel's research into the origins of the Canterbury Pilgrims leads him to believe that "a special appeal was made to country gentlemen,

(32) J. L. Parker, Brief Information concerning the Canterbury 1849 Settlement.

(33) Margaret J. Marr, An estimate of the influences behind the Settlement of Canterbury, and of the fidelity shown to the Principles of the Founders. p. 25.

clergymen, struggling yeomen, small capitalists and enterprising traders." (34) This is no doubt correct, but the really specific appeal was made to members of the Anglican upper class. The Association address was freely circulated among friends of the Committee of Management of the Association, the House of Lords, and The Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge. The seven most respectable papers of the day brought Canterbury before the upper class of the reading public. (35) Gradually the territorial and social extent of the appeal was widened so that by July 1848 a pamphlet describing the objects of the Association had been sent to all the leading newspapers in town and country. (36) The personal touch was added in February, when Felix Wakefield, the Association's land sales agent, was instructed "to hold meetings in provincial towns in centres of agricultural districts to diffuse more widely a knowledge of the plans of the Association." (37)

This last feature of the advertising programme was not very successful, although Felix Wakefield held meetings in several towns, including Birmingham and Harwich. (38) It seems that the real recruiting of emigrants was done at the Canterbury Emigration Office at 32 Charing Cross Road, London. Early in 1850 many town and country papers announced that "a Committee of the Canterbury Association sits daily at 41 Charing Cross Road at one o'clock and

- (34) C. R. Straubel, Who Were the Canterbury Pilgrims? Address given to the Royal Society, Christchurch, 1949.
- (35) Canterbury Association Minutes, 27th March, 1848.
- (36) Ibid., 15th July 1848.
- (37) Ibid., 19th February 1850.
- (38) E. G. Wakefield to Godley, 8th July 1851 (Turnbull Library.)

will be happy to communicate personally with applicants for information who may prefer this mode of enquiry to reading the Canterbury Papers." (39) It seems likely that this scheme was adopted to assist the illiterate. It was also pointed out that "some of the first body of intending colonists attend daily at their rooms at Number 1 A Adelphi Terrace. Strangers desiring to communicate personally with gentlemen about to emigrate are invited to visit the rooms." (40)

The centralised London office organisation seems to have appealed to the Association partly for reasons of efficiency, but also because it offered a social milieu in which the intending colonist could move. In these rooms the potential emigrant could not only gain all the information he desired about the natural features of and regulations applying to the new settlement, but he could also form an opinion as to the type of social atmosphere that he would find in the colony. This, like several other facets (41) of the Association's scheme, showed an adherence to the "guarantee in advance."

(42)? Despite some criticisms, the Association seems to have made a fairly honest attempt to limit its advertisements to the facts, yet it did not finally commit itself to do so. It was resolved "That the Association should have the right of putting in anything which may suit their purpose and that all matter which

(39) Minutes of the Canterbury Association, 22nd April 1850.

(40) Ibid.

(41) Visitors could inspect the Association's chartered ships at Blackwall. Minutes of the Canterbury Association, 10th April 1851.

(42) "Those at home who are interested in an emigration scheme are apt to paint their pictures in the most glowing and tempting colours. Sombre tints seldom disfigure their canvas!" "Lyttelton Times," 11th Oct., 1851.

does not originate with the Association be referred to Lord Lyttelton, the Chairman of the Committee of Management, without whose sanction nothing shall appear." (43) The importance attached to concrete evidence is clearly shown in some fretful letters from Edward Gibbon Wakefield to Godley:- "Colonists increase at a fair rate and the rate would be very great if we had satisfactory accounts from the settlement. The total want of intelligence is a sad drawback." (44)

From an outline of the general attractions of the scheme and the manner in which the Canterbury enterprise was advertised, we must now turn to those economic considerations that formed the really effective agent in moving people to the colonies. (45) The Canterbury Association had to keep a fine balance between cultural and economic attractions if its settlement were to offer superior enticements. The contemporary colonial view of the primacy of economic considerations was perhaps too materialistic, but even Canterbury had to cater for the acquisitive side of man's nature. (46) As Canterbury's initial economy was to be based wholly on farm produce, the major economic questions at the outset were those relating to the prices of freehold and pasturage land, and the regulations governing the assumption of lands bought. These problems raised many

(43) Minutes of the Canterbury Association, 28th May 1850.

(44) Wakefield to Godley, 9th Feb., 1851. (Copy in Turnbull Library)

(45) "Why not confess at once the plain and manly truth, that we are all poor, that we came to this colony because we are poor?" "Lyttelton Times," 12th July, 1851.

(46) "In the establishment of a new colony, the one thing needful is to offer high bounties upon the introduction of capital." Article from the "Wellington Independent" published in the "Lyttelton Times," 24th Jan., 1852.

searching philosophical and executive issues.

The speed of the early survey has already received some comment. A general map containing useful geographical information appeared in the first issue of the "Canterbury Papers." The Association attributed more importance to the survey than it did to the roads that would open the area up. Wakefield was most insistent on this point,⁽⁴⁷⁾ and the break between Thomas and Godley was hastened by their divergent views as to the importance of the survey of lands for settlement and of the road from the Heathcote Ferry to Christchurch.⁽⁴⁸⁾ The Association's attitude was of course coloured by the disappointing result of early land sales. The settlers had to be given the land which they had purchased - but could not expect roads until they too were paid for. The Thomas-Godley dispute gives rise to an interesting digression. It seems typical of the Association's keen desire to maintain an impeccable front, that Godley should inform Thomas that he (Godley) "should be very glad that our misunderstanding should not be publicly known."⁽⁴⁹⁾

In July 1850, the "Phoebe Dunbar" landed some equipment for the lithographing of survey maps which were found very useful

- (47) "I will only repeat the expression of my confident trust that you have sacrificed everything else to the one essential thing - the survey, the survey, the survey..... E. G. Wakefield to Godley, 22nd June 1850, quoted by E. J. Wakefield in *The Founders of Canterbury*, p. 290.
- (48) Godley to Thomas, 17th Jan., 1851. (Lands and Survey Dept., Christchurch.)
- (49) Thomas to John Hutt, 22nd Feb., 1851. (Lands and Survey Dept., Christchurch.)

in the administrative work of land transference. Any delay in the taking up of lands can apparently be attributed more to the slow selections made by the colonists, ⁽⁵⁰⁾ than to the Association's administration. For its work in this sphere the Association received local praise, ⁽⁵¹⁾ despite its stipulation that two months should elapse between the arrival of the first settlers and the selection of the sections.

In some contemporary colonies, profound dissatisfaction arose over the handing over of lands to holders of scrip. Some colonists had to wait years before they received possession, by which time their capital had dwindled considerably; and the administrators seemed to have scant sympathy for dissatisfied purchasers. It would be tedious to detail the Canterbury Association regulations governing the selection of lands, but it is worthwhile to allude to the care with which they were drawn up and applied. The Wakefield idea of the ballot to decide the selection priorities was rejected by Earl Grey, ⁽⁵²⁾ and the land orders were numbered in accordance with the order in which applications were officially opened. In the case of simultaneous applications, the holder of the lowest numbered land order ⁽⁵³⁾ received the priority of choice. Absentee purchasers who had

(50) "...the choices of land are going on but very slowly for they take a long time choosing." Canterbury Papers p.313. (extract from private correspondence.)

(51) "In no settlement hitherto founded has there been, as far as we are aware, less loss of time in putting the first body in possession of the land." "Lyttelton Times," 15th Feb., 1851.

(52) Minutes of the Canterbury Association, 24th Dec., 1849.

(53) Canterbury Papers, p. 136.

their lands selected for them could reselect, provided this was
done within two months of their own arrival in the colony. (54)

Actually the scheme did not encourage speculation and the number
of absentee proprietors seems to have been insignificant. (55)

It may have been a failing in some earlier colonies that large areas were not open for selection, but the Canterbury Association carried its scruples on this score to the point of absurdity and of complete unfairness to the earliest settlers. It seems absurd that the Association considered it necessary to throw open even the sites of its own buildings to immediate selection, yet Godley apologised for not having done so, and gave the good reason that this land was "necessary to the conduct of his operations." (56) Godley's blunt request that one Gaudon vacate French Farm precipitated the long dispute over land titles on Banks Peninsula, in which the disinterestedness of the Crown compared more than favourably with the bias of the impatient Association.

The Association's regulations concerning land selections were framed so as to avoid the contemporary abuses of grid-ironing and spotting. (57) The selection of pasturage followed the same principle as that of freehold land and as the Association wished to sell its entire block at £3 an acre, it sought strict control

(54) Minutes of the Canterbury Association.

(55) Canterbury Papers, p. 244.

(56) Godley to Colonists' Council, 17th Dec., 1850. (Copy held in Lands and Survey Dept., Christchurch).

(57) Canterbury Papers, p. 137.

(58)
over all depasturised areas. The selection policy, despite the minor failings mentioned, was undoubtedly helpful, scrupulously fair to Association settlers, and efficient in practice. Apart from the actual price of land, there was no real mechanical flaw in the Association's programme to attract capital.

In its efforts to give the new colony an auspicious start, the Association showered privileges on the first body of colonists, safeguarding its future policy by restricting these settlers to a total purchase of 101,000 acres, (59) and by refusing to relax the 'first body' qualifications. (60) Each 50 acre allotment purchased entitled the first body colonist to a free town allotment which would otherwise have cost him £12 or £24 according to its situation. The pasturage rights granted to first body settlers entitled them to a transferable license covering an area five times as large as that of their freehold at 16/8 per 100 acres, instead of the normal 20/-. The first body colonists were also given very attractive selection (61) privileges.

It would seem that the Association had prepared its market well, yet the carefully drawn and well-advertised conditions failed to draw a good response. When the applications were opened on the 31st of July 1850 it was found

(58) "No pasturage license confers any right to the soil or otherwise abridges or suspends the rights and powers of the Association in and over the land depasturised."
Ibid.

(59) Canterbury Papers, p. 136.

(60) Minutes of the Canterbury Association, 12th March 1850.

(61) Canterbury Papers, pp. 135-6.

that only 13,150 acres of rural land had been sold, and that applications for pasturage allotments totalled only 65,750 acres.⁽⁶²⁾ This initial failure was very serious, as it severely reduced the amounts expected to be available for the various funds. This in its turn was likely to cause the Association's actions to lag behind its promises, a contingency that would be reflected in reduced immigration from England.

It seems that the land terms were not competitive enough. Such contemporary Australian and New Zealand colonies, formed under quasi-Wakefield schemes, offered land at £2 an acre, while the Crown tended to favour a very cheap land policy. It took some time for the Association to modify its proposals. Some of its influential members advanced loans to boost the scheme, and high hopes were pinned to the reports coming back from the "first body."⁽⁶³⁾ The Association's reluctance to change its regulations can in part be explained by its duties under the Charter, by its wish to keep faith with the first body, and by its sincere desire to make economics subservient to its social policy. In the early stages the local press seems to have hoped that the flow of immigration would increase unaided by any sweeping changes in the regulations. "We believe that the general character of the letters which will go home to England from all classes in the colony will be such as to stimulate others to follow our

(62) Canterbury Association Despatches, 7th Sept., 1850.

(63) "If good accounts arrive from the first colonists, I have little doubt that we shall sell within the second year to the amount of the £300,000 we originally dreamed of." From a private letter from a member of the Committee of Management reprinted in the "Lyttelton Times," 14th June 1851.

(64)
example."

The changes in the land regulations, which necessarily effected a change in immigration policy, stemmed from Godley and the colonists themselves, being a consequence of the political organisation favoured by the Association. The Society of Canterbury Colonists was formed in June 1850, and held its first public meeting in the colony on the 14th of August 1851. The body that appears to have enjoyed rather more power was the Land Purchasers' Society. In January 1850 the Association suggested that Godley "form a committee with some of the ablest and most influential colonists with whom to arrange everything relating to land, whether as regards sales or licences, and through them determine who should or should not be admitted as settlers."⁽⁶⁵⁾ Godley acknowledged the Land Purchasers' Society and promised to be guided by its directions, "..... so long as I shall be satisfied that your body does really and adequately represent the land purchasers of the settlement."⁽⁶⁶⁾ As the Society of Land Purchasers represented only one class, it dissolved itself on the 1st of April 1852, and the broader Society of Canterbury Colonists took over its functions.

In the first body there were very few purchasers who bought more than 200 acres, which suggested that land around the town would be richly cultivated, and that the outlying districts would be wholly devoted to pasturage. It seems likely that the

(64) "Lyttelton Times," 15th April 1851.

(65) Canterbury Association Despatches, 26th Jan., 1850.

(66) Godley to J. S. Wortley, 17th Dec., 1850.

first body settlers were originally as prejudiced as the Association itself concerning the admission of squatters from the neighbouring colonies. It was not until November 1851 that the Association opened any land for purchase in the colony, and even then the amount was only 10,000 acres. Pasturage rights (67) were also originally restricted to Association settlers.

"You will understand that this provision does not confer any general right upon strangers to insist upon such [pasturage] grants." (68) After the first body had made their choice, Godley gave pasturage priority to original squatters such as Sinclair, Robinson and the Deans brothers. The freehold rights of these settlers were limited to those lands detailed in a schedule furnished by William Fox, Principal Agent of the New Zealand Company - some 2,000 acres. (69)

Explain
It was not long before the first body settlers perceived the imperative need to establish the colony on a really firm economic basis. The famous "shagroon's" prophesy uttered by Mark Stoddart confirmed their fears in telling words. "As to the Canterbury Pilgrims, a year or two must smash them all with their 50 and 100 acre lots, and this country will fall into the hands of old settlers from the colonies." (70)

A general meeting of the Land Purchasers' Society held in April 1851, recommended that Australian stockmen be admitted.

(67) Canterbury Association Despatches, 25th Jan., 1851.

(68) Extract from Canterbury Association Despatches, reprinted in "Lyttelton Times" 15th Feb., 1851.

(69) William Fox to Godley, 25th Jan., 1851. (Lands and Survey Dept., Christchurch.)

(70) "Lyttelton Times," 17th April 1851.

They affirmed Godley's request that the price of pasturage licences be reduced to ten shillings per hundred acres instead of the normal twenty shillings and requested that the pre-emptive right of purchase be extended to these immigrants. The early farmer had so many capital expenses to meet, especially in the buying of stock, that he could pay only a low land rental. The Association, however, took some time to realise the 'opportunity-cost' implications of its pastoral regulations. (71)

The Association was strenuously opposed to the extension of the pre-emptive right, quoting the Charter in its defence and maintaining that "if the squatters were admitted on the same privileges as land purchasers as regards the occupation of pasturage, the necessary effect would be, as the Committee believe, to put a stop to land sales in this country." (72) There was, however, a growing cleavage between the Association and its settlers. The Association tended to shrink from responsibility for its regulations, reflecting that "as the settlement will have been in fact created by land purchasers whose funds alone will have been the means of founding it, they are the parties whose interests should be consulted upon this as upon other questions." (73)

The "Lyttelton Times" stated its trenchant opposition to the creation of "a class in the colony with class privileges." It was lamented that immigrant stockmen were going "...beyond the northern boundary because the terms they can obtain from the

(71) "Oh that I had but £500 to stock my little farm with, and the 250 acres I hold at twopence per acre rental."
Canterbury Papers p. 346.

(72) Alston to Godley, 26th May 1851.

(73) Ibid.

Government are more favourable than those of the Association,"⁽⁷⁴⁾
which they were by some 50%. It was seen that the ideal social
atmosphere could never develop within economic structure produced
by the Association's land regulations. The "Lyttelton Times"
demanded quick settlement and prosperity, and suggested the
"open door" policy in rather naive and euphemistic terms. "Many
a squatter from the neighbouring colonies will find a hearty
welcome and, while bringing to our settlement their experience in
colonial sheep farming, they will receive....some of the
advantages and many of the enjoyments which a settled and
civilised country affords."⁽⁷⁵⁾ The first body colonists were
placated by the argument that the influx of stockmen would
benefit them by raising the value of their land.⁽⁷⁶⁾

On the 28th of July 1851, Godley submitted a set of
"regulations for squatting" to the Land Purchasers' Society, where
they received warm support. The object of these regulations was
to give the farmer a seven-year lease of up to 20,000 acres, for
which he would pay a gradually increasing rent as the run began
to yield returns. The highest rent payable under this scheme was
ten shillings per hundred acres, slightly higher than the
contemporary Government regulations of £5 for the licence, a penny
a head for sheep and eightpence a head for cattle and horses, but
a highly competitive rent nevertheless, when the natural advantages
of Canterbury are considered.

(74) "Lyttelton Times," 10th May 1851.

(75) "Lyttelton Times," 31st May 1851.

(76) Ibid., 2nd Aug., 1851.

Towards the end of 1851, pressure from colonist
(77) organisations both in England and in the colony, caused the Association to change its land policy in accordance with the settlers' desires. On the 4th of March 1852 the Association laid down its new land regulations, which closely followed in principle Godley's suggestions that had won the approval of the Land Purchasers' Society. The suitability of these regulations is revealed by the fact that they remained in force after the Association had ceased to exist, and in 1853 the year following the change, Canterbury exported 165,185 pounds of wool valued at
(78) £8,290.

Godley's words indicate the regret with which this change in policy was made by the Association:- "For my part I should rejoice beyond measure to see the same end [good export trade] attained by the immigration of pastoral capitalists from England; but there appears to be no prospect of this on an extensive scale, and I advocate therefore as the next best thing, the immigration of pastoral capitalists from the neighbouring
(79) colonies." Although the Canterbury lands were thrown open to all religions and all classes, there was no relaxation of the
(80) efforts to exclude the speculator.

(77) "At a public meeting of intending colonists and others interested held in London on the 27th of August 1851, it was resolved that "the framing of regulations for licences of unappropriated pasturage and the terms thereof, be entrusted to the Association's chief agent in the Colony."

"Lyttelton Times," 3rd Jan., 1852.

(78) "Lyttelton Times," 1st Oct., 1853.

(79) Letters and Speeches of Godley, (From letter of 1st Oct., 1851.) p. 216.

(80) Godley to Canterbury Association, 1st Oct., 1851.

A commentary on the effects on immigration of the change in policy is provided by Godley's remark: "I calculate that from three to four hundred people came to us from the neighbouring colonies"⁽⁸¹⁾ [during the period of Association control.]

The Association hoped that the right of nominating labourers for assisted passages to the settlement would prove attractive to land purchasers. Great care was taken both in advertisements and in special letters to land purchasers⁽⁸²⁾ to give due notice of this privilege. First body emigrants had to claim the privilege and make it good within a year of the 1st of July 1850.⁽⁸³⁾ The Association was prepared to assist land purchasers by relaxing the age and religious qualifications of nominated emigrants.⁽⁸⁴⁾ These efforts appear to have been in vain, as there is very little evidence to suggest that the right of nomination was an important factor in promoting the sale of Canterbury land. It is not possible to quote the percentage of nominated immigrants but indications are that it was very small⁽⁸⁵⁾ - a point to be developed in the next chapter. The land purchasers seemed satisfied by the assurance of an adequate supply of labour and there seems little doubt that, of the few capitalists who claimed the nominating privilege, some definitely abused it in an effort to lower the price of their land.⁽⁸⁶⁾

(81) Letters and Speeches of Godley, p. 235.

(82) Minutes of the Canterbury Association, 3rd June 1850.

(83) Ibid., 4th June 1850.

(84) Ibid., 9th July 1850.

(85) Straubel doubts if it was more than 30% of the total steerage immigrants.

(86) "Lyttelton Times," 5th Feb., 1852.

The original 'Canterbury Plan' implied a very careful selection of all immigrants, including land purchasers, both as regards religious and social qualifications. The difficulties experienced in selling land caused the Association to relax this policy. In April 1850, the Rev. Grey Porter wrote and asked if the Association wished him to disseminate some information about Canterbury "as the Protestant farmers of Ireland emigrate very extensively."⁽⁸⁷⁾ He was thanked and some pamphlets were forwarded.

Some of the Presbyterian farmers of Down were prepared to change their religion to keep faith with the Association's regulations but a motion "that this intention be recorded" was defeated.⁽⁸⁸⁾ In May 1850 the following words in the Canterbury Papers made it clear that capitalists were not to be excluded, because they were not Anglicans: "An understood approval of, and adhesion to, the general principles of the Association's scheme, and the willingness to pay £1 an acre towards the support of the religious and educational establishments proposed will be regarded generally as sufficient evidence of the purchaser being attached to the Church of England and being an eligible colonist!"⁽⁸⁹⁾

The above provision seems to have been well-framed, since the land regulations themselves were likely to repel people actively opposed to the Association's religious schemes without any further screening being necessary. The early Banks Peninsula settlers who had to buy from the Association to gain freehold

(87) Minutes of the Canterbury Association, 30th April 1850.

(88) Minutes of the Canterbury Association, 23rd April 1850.

(89) Canterbury Papers p. 120.

titles complained against "contributing one pound per acre towards the endowment of a church to the doctrines of which the majority of them are unconditionally opposed,"⁽⁹⁰⁾ and requested liberty of conscience in that respect. Even though its rules were relaxed, the Association seems to have noted the religious professions of its immigrants fairly carefully.⁽⁹¹⁾

Exclusion of capitalists on general grounds was envisaged in the original plan of the Association,⁽⁹²⁾ but it was very difficult to put into practice. Edward Gibbon Wakefield seemed quite philosophical about the rather loose system (if any) for the rejection of undesirable colonists. "Every ship, it is to be feared, takes out one or two married scamps - a sort of vauriers of whom their friends wish to be rid....Some bad ones slip in even among the buyers of land."⁽⁹³⁾ In the same letter, however, he maintained that Felix Wakefield "who has the first handling of the colonists has repelled some and endeavours in suspicious cases to get information to justify rejection."⁽⁹⁴⁾ The manner in which Felix Wakefield discharged his duties must,⁽⁹⁵⁾ however, cause us to doubt even this innocent statement.

Perhaps the Association more or less selected its early capitalists and there is no doubt that it selected its assisted

(90) Sir George Grey to Earl Grey, 29th Nov., 1851. (Land and Survey Dept.)

(91) "I would remind you that thus far...out of the 1800 people who have sailed for Canterbury, not one is a person of very High Church opinions; it is a fact that the colonising public is almost entirely anti-tractarian." Wakefield to Godley, 6th May 1851. (Turnbull Library.)

(92) Vide a Prospectus (undated) concerning the Association for founding the settlement of Canterbury in New Zealand, (National Archives.)

(93) Letters from E. G. Wakefield to J.R.Godley pp.100-101.

(94) Ibid.

(95) Vide Chapter IV. p. 83.

emigrants, but it was apparently very careless in that it allowed quite a few penniless young men to book passages as if they were capitalists.⁽⁹⁶⁾

E. G. Wakefield's statement that there was "no opportunity of rejecting young men who take their passages at the Colonists' Rooms"⁽⁹⁷⁾ cannot be accepted. The mistake was a bad one as these young men had no place in a new colony and their presence must have upset the Association's efforts to maintain a workable relationship between labour and capital.

Before the Canterbury Association dissolved it made temporary arrangements in England for the continuance of emigration to the settlement.⁽⁹⁸⁾ The Provincial Council assumed the control of immigration as soon as it was constituted, but as it did not hold its first meeting until October 1853, we must assume that all immigration up to that period was subject to Association policy.

In the period of Association control it seems that 26 immigrant ships arrived carrying 3595 passengers⁽⁹⁹⁾ (the figure is as exact as it can be made) although other authorities which deal strictly with the period of active Association control give the figures as 22 ships carrying 3247 immigrants.⁽¹⁰⁰⁾ As Edward Gibbon Wakefield and Captain Charles Simeon were passengers in

(96) Letters and Speeches of Godley, p. 207.

(97) Letters from E. G. Wakefield to J. R. Godley, p. 101.

(98) Minutes of the Canterbury Association, 16th Sept., 1852.

(99) Shipping Lists, Lands and Survey Dept., Christchurch.

(100) C. E. Carrington, Godley of Canterbury, p. 158.

one of the last four ships (the Minerva) it seems safe to consider these ships as sailing under the regulations of the Canterbury Association. The figures given include some settlers destined for other colonies but this number was no doubt balanced by Canterbury settlers who chose to sail in other than Association ships and drew back on the Association for the passage money to which they were entitled. Eleven hundred and fifty-six of the Association's immigrants were cabin passengers (either first or second cabin). Ninety-nine of these were passengers for other New Zealand colonies, leaving 1057 destined for Canterbury.

A survey of the 435 cabin passengers from ten ships for which detailed figures are available, reveals that in these ships there were 317 adult cabin passengers (14 and over), and 118 children.⁽¹⁰¹⁾ One hundred of these adults were females, either married or single, and the remaining 217, roughly 50% of the total, were male adults. If we apply this percentage to the total number of cabin passenger immigrants we can assume that about 500 male adults sailed for Canterbury as cabin passengers under the auspices of the Canterbury Association.

The number of land purchasers among these 500 or so passengers can be approximately deduced. Very few of the women held land orders. For only eight ships were the ages of both first and second cabin passengers given, but these figures reveal that 16% of the male adult cabin passengers were under 20 years of age.

(101) Shipping Lists. Lands and Survey Dept., Christchurch.

Occupations were given for only 93 of the men travelling cabin class but those furnished (102) suggest that a considerable number, especially the school-teachers, surgeon superintendents and tradesmen, were not land purchasers, and undoubtedly some of the young men under twenty were in the same position. All facts considered, it seems safe to assume that no more than 400 men entered Canterbury as land purchasers under the Association's scheme of immigration from England.

In September 1851 the "Lyttelton Times" estimated the white population of Canterbury, apart from Association settlers, at 500, many of whom had some title to land. During the remaining period under the Association's control over 100 colonists, many of (103) them young men, arrived from Australia and many more came to Canterbury from neighbouring New Zealand colonies.

The desire to plant a carefully-selected upper economic class was then frustrated very early. When one considers the small amount of land taken up by the first-body settlers and their lack of capital to buy stock, it seems that once the pasturage regulations were relaxed, the economic preponderance swung in favour of the colonial immigrant stockmen.

The land purchasers from the old country were not, as

- (102) 2 agriculturalists, 1 artist, 1 butcher, 3 carpenters, 2 civil engineers, 8 clergymen, 1 clerk, 7 doctors, 47 farmers, 1 grocer, 1 gentleman, 1 hairdresser, 1 labourer, 1 land agent, 1 merchant, 1 merchant mariner, 9 schoolteachers, 2 servants, 1 solicitor, 1 stationer, 1 student. Total, 93.
Shipping Lists.

- (103) The information on which this estimated figure is based is to be found in the Shipping News of the issues of the "Lyttelton Times" for the period of Association control.

has sometimes been assumed, mainly from south-east England.

"From the addresses given by the first body of land purchasers numbering 144, it appears that these people came from places fairly evenly scattered over the southern half of England - say south of a line drawn the the Wash to Liverpool.Fifty out of the 144 gave London addresses and appear to have been bona fide London residents."
(104)

The Association's desire for a nucleated, intensively farmed settlement area which would spread gradually, could not be realised because of the lack of an adequate market for the produce of mixed farms. Extensive pastoral farming emerged as Canterbury's economic salvation and this fact placed the whole foundation of the Canterbury plan in danger during the Association period, and implied that the social criterion had to yield to an economic one, in the matter of immigration control.

Some of the Association's settlers were quick to realise that the English social system could not flourish in the new environment. In 1852 James Stuart Wortley pointed out that "we must also in coming out here be prepared to give up many of the exclusive notions that we have been bred up in in England. The aristocracy of talent takes the place of the aristocracy of birth, if it is not properly supported by other qualities."
(105)

The poor result of land sales at £3 an acre delayed the institution of religious and educational bodies and subsequently

(104) C. R. Straubel, op. cit. This list is available in the Lands and Survey Dept., Christchurch.

(105) "Lyttelton Times," 10th July 1852.

lowered the potential power of their influence. The unsuitability of the early land regulations opened Canterbury to colonial squatters before the forces that were to shape the moral solidarity of Canterbury were actively established. The "Lyttelton Times" was indignant "that eighteen months should have elapsed and that no consecrated building should have been erected in a settlement established upon the peculiar scheme of the Canterbury Association."⁽¹⁰⁶⁾

There was little to discourage the immigrant stockmen from exercising their influence so as to make Canterbury, socially speaking, very much like any other colony - yet this was the very thing that the Association had striven to avoid. Good social reports of Canterbury were vital to the maintenance of a steady flow of better class immigrants, but there was much to criticise in the settlement's early way of life. One writer "remarked with sincere regret the absence of those means for social intercourse which bind man to man, and of those amusements which tend to make the individual cheerful and virtuous, and society happy."⁽¹⁰⁷⁾ Another was "disgusted by the numbers of half-drunken men that are continually to be met with at the corner of Oxford Street, [Lyttelton] by the Canterbury Hotel."⁽¹⁰⁸⁾

The Association's work in attracting capital revealed several departures from the original scheme and indicated a trend in immigration policy that we shall follow in later chapters. The

(106) Ibid. 1st May 1852.

(107) "Lyttelton Times," 20th March 1852.

(108) Ibid., 29th Nov., 1851.

ideal of religious unity was early abandoned. It was found impossible to reproduce an entirely English form of society in Canterbury because of the force of environmental factors.

The land and immigration policies had to bow before the economic forces of supply and demand. As men with stock and experience in pastoral farming were required, it was natural that they should come from Australia. The severe droughts of the early 1840's, discontent with the Governor's squatting regulations and feelings of unrest caused by the influx of gold-miners and agriculturalists, seem prominent among the reasons for the migration of Australian farmers into Canterbury in the early 1850's.

Just as the Association's immigration policy was expanded, so was the area in which it was to be effective. The original Canterbury plan was intended to be confined to the Association's block of 2,400,000 acres. This area was only a part of the natural geographical unit and, realising this, the Association's early settlers requested "that the Canterbury Association have its block enlarged so as to include the whole (109) of the great plain in which the block is situated." This step betrayed the earnest desire of the Association's settlers to secure the implementation of Association land and immigration policy in the future Provincial Council.

It was obvious that conflict over all matters

(109) Memorial adopted by the Society of Land Purchasers for presentation to Her Majesty, 2nd Oct., 1851.
"Lyttelton Times," 4th Oct., 1851.

pertaining to immigration would arise when the Association surrendered its powers. The colonial stockmen, armed with the money and experience to achieve economic success in Canterbury, were destined to play an important role in local politics, and were likely from their origins and aspirations to favour a cheap land policy. The Association settlers were biassed in favour of a reasonably dear price for land to ensure some selection of immigrants, especially labourers. The Pilgrims did not want their settlement overrun by a motley collection of profit-hunters.

As far as land-purchasers were concerned, the prospect of continuing immigration seemed quite bright at the end of 1852. Some had been grievously disappointed in the new settlement and wrote in terms that could deter English capitalists from buying Canterbury land in England. (110) As the Provincial Council transacted all its land sales in Canterbury, no one from 1853 onwards could claim that he had been defrauded. The plans and work of the Association, the influence of Godley and pressure from the colonists combined with the capital and experience of the Shagroons to place Canterbury on the road to prosperity. The following résumé of the enticements of Canterbury at the end of 1852 appears to be fairly near the mark. "After maturely considering the nature and extent of country still unoccupied, the advantage of proximity to a port of shipment, of obtaining ready and undisputed possession of a run, and of the existence

(110) "Would that we had taken your common-sense advice and come to this place with our money in our pockets, or rather not at all, for it (the Canterbury scheme) is altogether a fearful delusion."
"Lyttelton Times," 28th July 1851.

of society and institutions congenial to English habits and English feelings, I think that there can be no doubt that Canterbury is at present the most eligible settlement for a sheep farmer."⁽¹¹¹⁾

(111) John Hall to Godley, 4th Dec., 1852.

CHAPTER III

THE ASSOCIATION'S SHIPS AND PASSENGERS

We have examined the aims of the Canterbury Association and some of the methods that it used to influence and control the flow of immigration into the new settlement. There is very little specific information available concerning the immigrants from other colonies, so we have had to deduce the Association's policy towards them from various land and other regulations. In the case of the immigrants from England we can find specific information from the extant shipping lists.

The figures available enable us to observe the Association's policy in action. It seems that the Association knew the dangers inherent in transmarine migration. "Many things - not only material objects - which the migrants do take with them, have to be taken to pieces, never perhaps to be reassembled in their original form."⁽¹⁾ The quarters aboard the Association's emigrant ships were divided into classes so that hierarchical society would not be disturbed during its transplanting. This chapter gives a résumé of the passengers sailing in the different ship-board strata - their ages and

(1) Arnold J. Toynbee, A Study of History, (Somervell's abridgement) p. 104.

marital status, and, as far as possible, their occupations.

Most of the twenty-six emigrant ships chartered by the Association sailed under the flag of Stayner and Filby. Once chartered, the vessels passed into the hands of the Association's shipping agent. William Bowler held this position during the Association's most active period of emigration control. The net cost of chartering the first twenty-one ships was
(2)
£43,247. 11. 8. and the actual expenses of the emigration department in transferring 3247 settlers to Canterbury were
(3)
£85,012.0.0. The full costs for the twenty-six ships carrying 3595 passengers are not available.

In reading the multifarious correspondence concerned with shipping, one gains the opinion that Bowler was very hard-working, competent, and attentive to detail. He drew a commission from the total expenses of his department and in
(4)
less than two years in office, cleared £2,554/ for himself plus fulsome praise from the Association's Committee of Management. Selfe considered this praise quite undeserved and makes it obvious that the Association had been far too trusting and generous towards both its shipping agent and its officer in
(5)
charge of land sales. Godley stands out as the heroic figure who refused to make money out of the Canterbury Association.

(2) Canterbury Association Shipping Accounts, Lands and Survey Dept., Christchurch.

(3) Carrington, op. cit., pp. 178-9.

(4) H. S. Selfe, The Accounts of the Canterbury Association with explanatory remarks in a letter to Lord Lyttelton, p.23.

(5) Ibid., pp. 23-4.

Most of the officials seem to have put into practice the contemporary belief that making money was a good end in itself.

Officers of the Canterbury Association inspected ships tendered for hire and did not hesitate to decline ships that were in any way unsatisfactory ⁽⁶⁾ since the shipping arrangements were regarded as a definite attraction of the Canterbury settlement ⁽⁷⁾ scheme.

When the Committee of Management had accepted a ship, the shipping agent had the task of preparing it for despatch; his powers even allowed him to recommend to the Committee candidates for the positions of surgeon superintendent, chaplain and schoolmaster. ⁽⁸⁾ The medical arrangements of the first few ships were examined on behalf of the Association just before sailing by a famous London doctor, Sir John Doratt (probably a friend of a member of the Committee of Management). This was an expensive procedure and was discontinued when it was found that, under an Act of Parliament, the Association was paying the ⁽⁹⁾ Government Medical Inspector for much the same service. The ships were open for inspection by the emigrants before sailing, and the deputy chairman of the Association, who examined the arrangements made for the emigrants in the first four ships,

(6) Minutes of the Canterbury Association, 17th Feb., 1852.

(7) ".... by undeniable facts and figures Bowler establishes that the shipping business of the Association has been managed better than any other body's. It will indispose emigrants of the higher order to go in any but our ships and will therefore make Canterbury colonists." Wakefield to Godley, 9th Jan., 1851 in Letters from Edward Gibbon Wakefield to John Robert Godley, Vol.I. p.99. Turnbull Library.

(8) Minutes of the Canterbury Association, 3rd Feb., 1852.

(9) Ibid., 2nd Oct., 1851.

stated them to be "highly satisfactory."⁽¹⁰⁾

The instructions given to each captain and surgeon superintendent stressed the need for a non-stop run to Lyttelton, unless circumstances made a visit to an intermediate port absolutely necessary. When such a call was made, the reasons⁽¹¹⁾ were very carefully reviewed by the Association.

The average time taken for the voyage by the first 22 ships was 118 days - the longest run being 150 days and the shortest 100 days. The duration of the tedious trip could have been shortened by great circle sailing, but as this practice would have taken the ships into cold southern latitudes it was⁽¹²⁾ not followed.

Throughout its existence the Canterbury Association sought to invest its efforts with pomp and ceremony, so that the settlers would not emigrate with the feeling that they were merely leaving England in search of a better life in a colony, but would depart with enthusiasm on a great and noble enterprise. Altogether the Association spent £742 on farewell festivities held at the London Docks,⁽¹³⁾ and wave on wave of cheerful emigrants sailed from Gravesend to the strains of stirring music by the band of the Coldstream Guards.

On board, the emigrants' quarters were divided into three classes - first cabin, second cabin and steerage - the costs⁽¹⁴⁾ per adult being £42, £25 and £15 respectively. Children under

(10) Ibid., 3rd. Sept., 1850.

(11) cf. The inquiry into the actions of the captain of the Castle Eden, which put into Cape Town en route to Lyttelton. Shipping papers, Lands and Survey Dept., Christchurch.

(12) Minutes of the Canterbury Association, 12th June, 1851.

(13) Carrington, op. cit., p.179.

(14) Canterbury Papers, p. 118.

fourteen were charged half rates. It was originally intended that all cabin passengers should be land purchasers, ⁽¹⁵⁾ but because of the disappointing result of early land sales such regulations were in practice, relaxed. The first cabin passengers were regarded as guests of the captain and dined at his table. In all matters they received the service to which they were accustomed. The passengers in the second cabin class were placed into family groups for their meals and had to perform some of the domestic chores. The others, free and assisted steerage, and passengers paying steerage, were grouped into numerical messes and had to draw their own provisions and cook their own meals as in the Royal Navy's individual mess system.

The daily routine observed on board the Association's emigrant ships was, apart from the religious and educational arrangements, very similar to that followed in the New Zealand Company's ships. Voluntary public worship was held every morning and evening unless the weather was rough. Classes for the children (and others) usually occupied two hours of each day and all who could read and write were expected to assist.

The surgeon superintendent of each ship was in charge of the emigrants and had quite wide powers. He could punish offenders and appoint to minor paid posts in the vessel such as matron, surgeon's assistant and constable. On arrival at

(15) Minutes of the Canterbury Association, 4th June, 1850.

Lyttelton, the surgeon had to furnish many reports to the Chief Agent in the colony. The conduct of the captain and officers of the ship towards the passengers, and the manner in which the chaplain, schoolmaster and minor officials had performed their duties, received careful attention, as monetary payments by the Association were involved. Reports on the noteworthy incidents of the voyage and on the general behaviour of the passengers (16) were used as a factual basis for improved regulations.

In general, the health of the passengers in the Association's emigrant ships seems to have been quite good. Whooping cough was prevalent amongst the children and there were frequent cases of fever among the adults, but of course the most (17) continual ailment was sea-sickness in its various forms. Many passengers suffered ill-health during the voyage of the "Stag" but the surgeon of that vessel exonerated the shipping department from some of the responsibility by pointing out that "several of the (18) first cabin passengers came on board confirmed invalids."

Very few reports by surgeon superintendents on the behaviour of the passengers are available, but those consulted suggest that in most cases the small floating communities whiled away the tedious months in harmless and respectable pursuits. When there was trouble, it seemed to arise either from the malicious gossip that thrives in isolated communities, or from the action of drunkards.

(16) Instructions to Surgeons, Shipping Papers, Lands and Survey Dept., Christchurch.

(17) Surgeon's Report, "Castle Eden," and "Travancore" Lands and Survey Dept., Christchurch.

(18) J. H. Martin, surgeon superintendent of the "Stag" to Godley, 18th May 1852.

The sale of liquor on board by members of the ship's company was specifically prohibited,⁽¹⁹⁾ but the Association's regulations did not seem to prevent some of the passengers from bringing a goodly supply on board with them. Several passengers, mainly from the cabin classes, were reported as having indulged in excessive drinking throughout the voyage. Robert Elms, a passenger~~f~~ on the Lady Nugent, wrote in hair-raising fashion about the treatment of his wife by the surgeon superintendent and friends who "threw her so she hit her head against a stanchion which raised a lump on the back of the head as large as a hen's egg her back and sides were black and blue and she were confined to her bed for eight days. [sic] If the Captain had not come to her assistance the ruffians would have killed her."⁽²⁰⁾

On the whole the steerage passengers seem to have behaved in a more respectable manner than those in more expensive berths, due perhaps, to lack of opportunity. Only in the reports of the surgeon superintendent and the chaplain of the "Stag" do we find reference to fractious lower-deck emigrants who "repeatedly prevented the observation [sic] of evening prayers by drinking and singing in the steerage."⁽²¹⁾

Provisions on board were of a high quality and there were only two generally adverse reports on the Association's victualling. The first of these was made by the captain of the

(19) Tender for Hire of a Ship to convey passengers and goods to Canterbury, clause 28. Shipping Papers, Lands and Survey Dept., Christchurch.

(20) Robert Elms to Captain of the "Lady Nugent," 18th June, 1851, Lands and Survey Dept.

(21) Chaplain's Report, "Stag," Shipping Papers, Lands and Survey Dept.

"Castle Eden" which put in to Cape Town ostensibly to take aboard fresh provisions; but it seems very likely that this call and the adverse report were made to prevent the fact of mutiny among the crew from being made known. (22) The complaints made by the surgeon superintendent of the "Canterbury," concerning the livestock provided for consumption, were forceful. "The pigs," he wrote - "these were as bad as they could be - much under size and weight and sickly. The fowls - none could have been worse. The beef was of inferior quality" (23) etc. etc.

The very narrow scope of the complaints made about the voyages and their organisation suggests that the shipping arrangements were of a particularly high standard. Not one letter containing adverse criticisms of any ship sent out by the Association appeared in the "Lyttelton Times," but several eulogistic comments were made. (24)

There is no doubt that the Association made a genuine, though somewhat authoritarian, attempt in these emigrant ships to foster the way of life to which its principles were dedicated. In its missionary zeal it even considered the spiritual needs of the crews of the ships. (25)

The vessels were chartered to sail direct to Lyttelton and thence to "such two other settlements in New Zealand as the

(22) William Bowler to Canterbury Association, 7th March, 1851.

(23) Surgeon's Report, the "Canterbury," Shipping Papers, Lands and Survey Dept.

(24) "Lyttelton Times," 6th Nov., 1852.

(25) Instructions to Chaplains, Shipping Papers, Lands and Survey Dept.

Association shall direct." This last clause enabled the Association to fill last-minute vacancies with non-Association emigrants, a plan which was probably cheaper than the cost of delay. The available evidence suggests that at least 124 passengers from all classes travelled to other New Zealand colonies in the Association's ships. The Committee made a virtue of this necessity when it used it in an unsuccessful endeavour to gain a rebate on the ten shillings an acre for land - a debt owed to the Crown on the surrender of the New Zealand Company's charter.

The shipping lists available are of various types. Just before sailing from England, the captain and surgeon superintendent had both to despatch lists of passengers via the pilot - the captain's list being addressed to the shipping company and the surgeon's to the Canterbury Association's office. Both men supplied further lists on completion of the voyage and handed them to the Resident Agent in Canterbury. Subsequently another ship brought out the shipping list that the surgeon had completed on leaving England. For some ships several lists are now available, for others there is only one and for five ships numbers of passengers only are given. Only the surgeon's list gives detailed information on all classes of passengers. All lists give full particulars concerning the ages, sex, occupations, marital status and size of family for the steerage passengers, but those for the first and second cabin passengers are more informal, and in many cases give names only. Details of

nationality and religion are not available in any list. (26)

The total numbers sailing in the Association's twenty-six emigrant ships were 639 in first cabin class, 517 in second cabin class and 2439 travelling steerage. The occupations of cabin passengers were given only in the 93 cases quoted in the previous chapter. First cabin passengers seem to have been very reticent concerning their vocations. One surgeon superintendent who tried to elicit this information received only three answers from the fifteen men concerned and so abandoned the task, remarking that "the other gentlemen do not profess to belong to any profession or calling whatever." (27)

When this same surgeon approached the ten men travelling in the second cabin class, he received only three definite replies but disclosed a more realistic attitude towards work. "With the three above exceptions", he wrote, "none of the others have any fixed calling but will avail themselves of any kind of occupation they may be found fit for." (28) Forty-two of the seventy-four second cabin passengers who stated their occupations were land-purchasing farmers, and schoolmasters and servants to the first class passengers accounted for twenty of the remainder.

Why here? As the shipping lists vary so widely in character, all of them cannot be used in the compilation of statistical information.

(26) Shipping Papers, Lands and Survey Dept., Christchurch.

(27) Surgeon's Report, "Randolph," Shipping Papers, Christchurch.

(28) Ibid.

The following table gives us a general picture of the marital status of the Association's emigrants.

	Total.	Married.	Single Men.	Single Women.	Children.
1st Cabin. (information from 8 ships)	184	53=29%	54=29%	24=13%	53=29%
2nd Cabin (information from 15 ships)	317	82=26%	111=35%	41=13%	83=26%
Steerage. (information from 22 ships)	2263	804=35%	346=15%	153=7%	960=43%
Totals	2764	939=34%	511=18%	218=8%	1096=40%

These figures acquire meaning when they are studied in relationship with the theories of Edward Gibbon Wakefield and the regulations of the Canterbury Association. The Association adhered to Wakefield's idea of the selective attraction of land purchasers and followed his teachings concerning the careful selection of other classes. Wakefield specified that "poor emigrants ought to be men and women in equal numbers, and if married so much the better."⁽²⁹⁾ This view won Association support and appeared in the form of a regulation which stated that

(29) Wakefield, A View of the Art of Colonisation, p. 406.

"passages will only be granted to single men subject to the general rule that their number shall not exceed the number of single women in each ship"⁽³⁰⁾ - a number that was itself restricted.

The figures quoted reveal a disparity between single men and women of 293, a difference that must have actually been nearer 450, as the table is only for the number of shipping lists specified. This inconsistency between the Association's theory and practice can be traced, like many other such aberrations, to the disappointing result of land sales.

The failure to sell large quantities of land was reflected in a small emigration fund. As few men bought large holdings, the privilege of nominating emigrants for free passages was not extensively used. The emigrant ships had to be filled mainly with assisted emigrants who had to pay a portion of their fares in accordance with their occupation and status.⁽³¹⁾ This fact tended to rob the Association of some of the initiative in the control of emigration. The Association offered passages at certain prices and had to make its choice of emigrants from those who applied. The strict observance of its stated principles became rather difficult and the disparity of sexes was one result. This disparity, of course, implied undesirable social

(30) Canterbury Papers, p. 64.

(31) "Single women $\frac{1}{3}$, Married agricultural labourers, their wives and families $\frac{1}{3}$, single agricultural labourers $\frac{1}{2}$, married mechanics, their wives and families $\frac{1}{2}$, single mechanics $\frac{2}{3}$, - preference to be given to persons in the above categories who are willing to pay larger portions of their passage money than those above named." Ibid., p.64.

repercussions, but the Association, comfortably wedded to its conception of a morality based on will power, no doubt hoped that all would be well.

Wakefield took the rather short-sighted view of preferring free and assisted emigrants without children, stating that "by taking none but very young grown-up persons, the maximum value would be obtained for any given outlay."⁽³²⁾ In the long run it was obviously cheaper and more satisfactory to send emigrants with young families - a view implemented by the Association in theory⁽³³⁾ and practice. The children could travel for half the price of an adult⁽³⁴⁾ and would be well adapted to local conditions when they accepted employment. Straubel's analysis of the shipping lists of the first nine ships leads him to the conclusion that "five persons comprised the average steerage family group - a man, his wife and three children."⁽³⁵⁾ Wakefield wished all lower-class emigrants to be "young people whose powers of labour would last as long as possible, and who could readily turn their hands to new employments."⁽³⁶⁾ The Association made this general rule specific in its regulation which stated that "all emigrants must be of less age than 40 years and, unless emigrating under the protection of their families, of greater age than 14 years. Preference will be given

(32) E. G. Wakefield, A View of the Art of Colonisation, p.408.

(33) Canterbury Papers, p. 64.

(34) Ibid.

(35) C. R. Straubel, Address to the Royal Society, Christchurch, 15th March, 1949.

(36) Wakefield, A View of the Art of Colonisation, p. 407.

to persons from 20 to 30 years of age." (37)

These rules were sometimes relaxed by special order of the Committee of Management in the cases of labourers and servants nominated for passage. Such cases arose "where there are strong and definite reasons for the recommendation, either on the grounds of long service to the land purchaser or that the emigrant is the father of a large family who are likely to prove useful and valuable settlers." (38) This concession was, of course, made in the interests of the nominating land purchaser - not of the emigrant. The Committee saw no reason for relaxing or altering the regulation limiting the age to 40 in the case of (39) unnominated applicants for assisted passages.

The shipping lists unfortunately do not differentiate between free and assisted steerage passengers. As most land purchasers in the Association period bought small tracts of land, the sum that each capitalist made available for the passage of nominated emigrants was usually small. It follows, then, that every nominated emigrant did not necessarily receive an entirely free passage.

In the first 22 ships, 178 passengers paid full steerage rates. These passengers were listed separately and in some cases were destined for other New Zealand colonies. Others paid full rates to enhance their chances of early emigration. In all cases they were subject to some type of selection by the Association,

(37) Canterbury Papers, p. 64.

(38) Minutes of the Canterbury Association, 5th Aug., 1850.

(39) Ibid.

so they have been included in the survey of the ages and occupations of the steerage emigrants.

The following table places the adult passengers whose ages are given into their respective age groups. Column A shows the number of passengers from each class used to compile this table, while Column B gives an approximate indication of the total number of adults who sailed in the respective classes during the entire period of Association control.

	Age in years.						
	A	B	14-19	20-25	26-30	31-35	36-40 Over 40
1st Cabin Passengers. (Information from eight ships.)							
Men	80	450	19%	30%	11%	16%	9% 15%
Women	51		25%	23%	12%	6%	20% 14%
2nd Cabin Passengers. (Information from fifteen ships.)							
Men	150	400	23%	33%	23%	7%	3% 11%
Women	83		18%	24%	28%	7%	10% 13%
Steerage Passengers. (Information from twenty-one ships.)							
Men	728	1500	20%	25%	16%	18%	13% 8%
Women	545		15%	24%	24%	17%	15% 6%
Totals	1637	2350					

(40) Shipping Lists, Lands and Survey Dept., Christchurch.

These figures indicate that early Canterbury attracted the young in all classes, as the majority of adults were under 30. It is only to be expected that the numbers over 40 should be greater in the cabin classes than in the steerage. The predominance of youth is also more pronounced in the cabin classes than among the more evenly spread steerage passengers. Finding suitable positions for the younger sons of respectable families was of course a problem in England in the mid-nineteenth century, and Canterbury provided an outlet that was not entirely unacceptable. Very few elderly people made the voyage and those who did were nearly all grandparents escorted by a host of kinsfolk.

The occupations of the steerage passengers are available for 21 ships and this information clearly indicates the type of community that the Association worked so hard to plant in Canterbury. The total number of adult emigrants in these 21 ships was 1273, including 804 who were married. If we subtract the wives (say 402) we are left with 871 adults seeking employment. Occupations were not given in all cases for passengers 'paying steerage.' The total number given was 816.

As suggested earlier in this chapter, it seems that people paid full steerage rates either because they were bound for other colonies or because they wanted to secure an early passage. It does not seem that they had to pay full rates on account of any age or occupational disqualification. The occupations given in the shipping lists for the "Samarang" suggests that the adults

paying steerage were as well qualified as the assisted emigrants. (41)

At least half of the labourers (388 altogether) were classified as agricultural labourers, but it is noticed that only 26 shepherds were sent out by the Association. Market gardening was not likely to provide the settlement's staple but the Association dispatched more gardeners than shepherds.

It is perhaps useful to group the workers into categories as this profile reveals to some extent the Association's idea of the components necessary for an economically efficient lower stratum in a sound society.

Agricultural labourers, Labourers, and other workers trained in agricultural and small mixed farming	432	53%
Shepherds and pastoral farmers	26	3%
Transport and allied trades	39	5%
Building trades	96	11%
Domestic servants, including governesses	145	18%
Miscellaneous	<u>78</u>	<u>10%</u>
Total	816	100%

It can be seen that labourers, servants and farm workers of all

- (41) Paying steerage, 1 mason, 1 blacksmith, 1 pawnbroker, 1 gardener, 1 wheelwright, 1 sailor, 3 carpenters, 5 agricultural and other labourers, 1 nurse, 1 shoemaker. Assisted steerage, 1 agricultural machinist, 10 agricultural and other labourers, 1 shoemaker, 1 dairyman, 1 tailor, 5 carpenters, 5 servants, 2 bricklayers, 1 wheelwright. Shipping list, "Samarang," Lands and Survey Dept., Christchurch.

sorts accounted for 74% of the Association's steerage emigrants.

Despite the failure of those land regulations which had been framed to produce an integrated rural society, the theorists in London persisted in working towards their ideal. Their desire for an agricultural economy and a social hierarchy made no allowances for the real nature of Canterbury. The Association's emigration scheme can be called systematic in that it followed a plan and was not haphazard, but it was not objective or realistic.

CHAPTER IV

THE SELECTION OF STEERAGE IMMIGRANTS

A statistical analysis of shipping lists cannot give a full picture of the Association's emigrants - the material on which it is based is too restricted. There is need for a qualitative assessment of the emigrants, as the whole scheme drew its purpose and vitality from intangible human attributes. The Association's task was not confined to the transplanting of certain age, family and vocational groups. The real aim was to send emigrants who conformed to a given standard of character.

The desire for religious unity, as we have seen, raised serious difficulties, but the number of Anglicans in Canterbury can be ascertained from statistics, whereas the real strength of the religion cannot. The Association also wished its colony to be distinguished from others by the good conduct, good character and respectability of its members.⁽¹⁾ A dull, mechanical search through the proceedings of the Canterbury courts for the period studied, would undoubtedly reveal the contemporary incidence of crime, but that would be a negative approach to the problem. The Association had to find good emigrants, and in this search a knowledge of the qualities to be avoided was not enough.

(1) Canterbury Papers, p. 46.

The task of selecting emigrants from the lower classes obviously differed from that of attracting suitable land purchasers. As many of the lower classes in contemporary England were living in depressing conditions it seemed likely that thousands would apply for passages to Canterbury and that a careful "screening" would produce a first-rate lower stratum. This view was stated by the ill-starred Bishop-Designate in one of his effusive orations. "A golden opportunity is now offered for choosing and launching upon a career of comprehensive culture and tranquil expansion, the very best of our peasant countrymen and countrywomen, vigorous in health and constitution but, above all, of sound moral principle, and as far as may be, cordially attached in the old country to the dogmatic faith of their forefathers."⁽²⁾ The Association proceeded on this expectation and drew up its regulations to suit differing classes of applicants.

Every applicant for steerage passage, be it free, assisted or paid, was required to fill up the Association's "form of application." This form required the usual particulars from each applicant and stated that the penalty for false answers was forfeiture of passage. All emigrants receiving assistance had to sign a declaration at the foot of the form stating that "in applying for a passage to the Canterbury settlement they have

(2) Reverend Thomas Jackson, (Bishop-Designate) speech at a public meeting held by the Association at Ipswich on 30th May, 1850, printed in Canterbury Papers, p. 66.

the full determination of remaining at the settlement and of
working there for wages." (3) Each form had to be accompanied
by a certificate from a surgeon as to the applicant's health,
and one from the minister of his parish stating that the
applicant was "sober, industrious and honest and that he and his
family are amongst the most respectable of their class in the
province." (4) In his Ipswich speech the Bishop-Designate begged
the clergy to be very careful in their recommendations of
labourers. (5)

If the applicant had been engaged by a land purchaser,
the latter had to fill in the "Form of Recommendation." In this
form the land purchaser recommended the applicant for assistance
from the Association up to a stated amount and assured the
Association that the applicant would pay the remainder of the
passage money on demand. As soon as they received advice that
they had been approved, the emigrants were expected to pay the
sum specified by the Association towards their fares. In return
for this money they received an embarkation order. (6)

As the case unfolds, it will become apparent that even
the smallest detail of administration mentioned had considerable
importance, because the Association's practice diverged from its
aims and regulations.

It was shown previously that the religious qualifications

- (3) Canterbury Papers, p. 66.
- (4) Ibid.
- (5) Ibid, p. 94.
- (6) Ibid, p. 65.

were relaxed in favour of land purchasers. This, of course, implied a similar concession to some nominated emigrants and it was decided that "purchasers of land so admitted, [not members of the Church of England] will be allowed to recommend labourers without other conditions being required in the respect alluded to, [religion] in the case of such labourers than in their own."⁽⁷⁾

As to the labourers who were not nominated for passage by land purchasers, it was reaffirmed "that every care must be taken that all the emigrants selected by the Association are bona fide members of the Church of England."⁽⁸⁾ It seems possible that even this ruling was relaxed in practice. Speaking at a meeting of the Church of England held at Lyttelton, the Reverend B. W. Dudley pointed out that "we have recently had a proof of what mere declaration of churchmanship is worth. Among the humbler classes of emigrants sent out by the Canterbury Association were to be found no inconsiderable number belonging to the various sects of dissenters."⁽⁹⁾ Some of them were even dissenting preachers.⁽¹⁰⁾

It seems that the Association placed considerable responsibility for the calibre of the nominated emigrants on the shoulders of the nominating land purchasers. It is very difficult from the shipping lists to assess the number nominated. The

(7) H. F. Alston to Edward Ward, 25th April. 1850, Lands and Survey Dept., Christchurch.

(8) Minutes of the Canterbury Association, 14th May, 1850.

(9) "Lyttelton Times," 27th Mar., 1852.

(10) J. Hight, Origin and inception of the Canterbury settlement, p. 11.

lists for the "Castle Eden" show that 51 (or 38%) of a total of 130 steerage passengers were nominated. Straubel assumes that the nominated figure was about 30% of the total steerage emigrants. This seems likely, so we can say that at least one out of every three lower-class passengers was chosen (subject to the Association's approval) by a land purchaser.

This system may have worked well had all those men who so gladly paid £1 an acre towards the establishment of church and school shown the moral fibre that posterity attributes to them. Unfortunately the financial and moral poverty of some of the land purchasers caused them to turn the nominating privilege to their own pecuniary benefit. Instead of choosing really suitable labourers, these men engaged emigrants who were willing to repay to their nominators the full amount of the assistance that they (the labourers) received from the Association. When successful, this move reduced the price of land by 10/- an acre.

Perhaps the Association is partly to blame for this practice because it charged such a high price for its land, but it is surely wholly blameworthy for the attitude that it adopted towards the action of the land purchasers. At a public meeting held in Christchurch to investigate the matter, FitzGerald maintained that "the Committee had no power or right to collect evidence, or ascertain in what manner, the portion of the land purchasers had used or abused their privilege of nomination."⁽¹¹⁾

(11) "Lyttelton Times," 5th Feb., 1852.

As the offenders were no doubt present in strength, this view prevailed. The "Lyttelton Times" leaves us in some doubt as to its real attitude by merely suggesting that "certain people were neither anxious nor prepared to substantiate charges that we believe they knew to be rotten to the core."⁽¹²⁾ As Immigration Agent, FitzGerald no doubt knew the real position but preferred it to be forgotten.

Labourers for free and assisted passages were, of course, nominated by land purchasers in Britain, and it was obvious that this system would have to cease on the termination of land sales in England. Godley foresaw this contingency and suggested that in the event of land being sold in Canterbury, intending purchasers could pay for their own passage and that of their nominees in England and claim a refund on completing their purchases of land in Canterbury.⁽¹³⁾ He foreshadowed future policy in suggesting that "a certain amount of emigration might perhaps also be safely carried on in advance of land sales, corresponding to the number of intending purchasers known to have come out."⁽¹⁴⁾ It was intended that these latter emigrants should be chosen by the Association. It is not possible to ascertain the extent to which these suggestions were adopted but they imply an end to the selection of lower-class emigrants by land purchasers.

The cessation of land sales in England and the gradual abdication of the Association's powers in 1852 meant that the

(12) Ibid.

(13) Godley to Canterbury Association, 23rd Dec., 1851.

(14) Ibid.

machinery devised by the Association for the selection of lower-class emigrants ceased to function. To keep up the flow of labour until the Provincial Council assumed the control of immigration, Godley suggested that any immigrant who had been chosen by the Association should have the right to nominate friends for passage. These nominees had to come within the classes covered by the Association's regulations and the nominators had to furnish security that they (the nominators) would pay the required proportion of passage money on the arrival of their friends in the settlement. ⁽¹⁵⁾ Again it is not possible to find out the number who entered Canterbury in this last scheme but the suggestion shows the Association's adherence to the idea of guaranteed nominations by accredited Association settlers.

As suggested earlier in this chapter, the task of recruiting labourers to be "screened" by the Association, seemed likely to offer no difficulties, as people were leaving England in such large numbers during the period under survey. Strangely enough, the applications of lower-class emigrants came in as slowly as did those of land purchasers - or even more so. In August, 1850, members of the Association's Committee of Management began to canvass certain areas personally but those efforts were not very successful. Lord Lyttelton in a letter to the Emigration Agent, J. E. FitzGerald, remarked that "Sewell wrote to me about getting emigrants of the labouring class here [Stourbridge] but

(15) "Lyttelton Times." 6th Dec., 1851.

I told him that it is rather too prosperous a district. I have never heard of anyone of that sort about here but either penniless or worthless persons."⁽¹⁶⁾

At a meeting of the Association's Committee of Management held in August, 1850, FitzGerald caused some consternation by pointing out that "the system which had been adopted for filling the ships with assisted passengers had up to the present time proved wholly inadequate and that nearly 300 passages were not filled up."⁽¹⁷⁾ It is not known which ships he referred to, but 575 steerage passengers sailed in the first four ships. The total number of passengers who sailed steerage in the seven ships which left England in 1850 was 959, so whatever group of ships FitzGerald referred to, the percentage of emigrants recruited between the meeting and the sailing of the ships (the first four left England on the 7th of September) must have been considerable (between 30 and 50% of the total steerage passengers for the year 1850.)

The difficult task of selecting emigrants at the late stage referred to was entrusted to Felix Wakefield, who for a short period discharged some of the duties of Emigration Agent as well as those which devolved upon him as the Association's Land Sales Agent. Felix was empowered to "take such steps as he in his discretion may think fit to accomplish the object, with liberty under any special circumstances to relax the existing

(16) Lyttelton to FitzGerald, 13th Aug., 1850. (From Letters to J. E. FitzGerald, Turnbull Library p. 51.)

(17) Minutes of the Canterbury Association, 5th Aug., 1850.

regulations - except as to character and religion - but only to the least possible extent." (18) FitzGerald was relieved of all responsibility as regards such emigrants recommended by Felix Wakefield, and was instructed to issue embarkation orders to them. In his own office FitzGerald was empowered to relax existing regulations and was allowed to employ an extra clerk for one (19) month.

There is no information available to indicate how these two men selected the last-minute settlers but somehow or other they filled the ships. It is quite possible that, even though rushed for time, Wakefield and FitzGerald managed to collect respectable lower-class emigrants to fill the quota, as the labour supply of that period was highly mobile. The reports of surgeon superintendents contain singularly few adverse comments on the calibre of the chosen emigrants, although the surgeon of the "Canterbury" stated that "a family of the name of Kendall were very improper people to be put aboard an emigrant ship of the Association." (20) The Committee of Management on receipt of this report moved that Felix Wakefield be asked "to exercise greater caution that the regulations of the Association have been complied with, before an embarkation order be granted." (21) As Felix resigned very shortly afterwards, this letter perhaps served no real purpose.

(18) Minutes of the Canterbury Association, 5th Aug., 1850.

(19) Ibid.

(20) Shipping Papers, Lands and Survey Dept., Christchurch.

(21) Minutes of the Canterbury Association, 26th June, 1851.

A more serious state of affairs was, however, disclosed in an anxious letter from Edward Gibbon Wakefield to Godley. The bed-ridden genius, whose force of character had enabled him to gain so many places on the Association's staff for his friends and relations, rambled at length on his own illness before coming to the point, and even then he was not very explicit. "Felix [he wrote] " has used his position as Land and Emigration Agent to - what shall I call it? - tamper with passage nominations to a considerable extent and in a very improper way." (22) Despite the various excuses and explanations concerning Felix's "temporary insanity," it was obviously galling for Edward Gibbon Wakefield to feel obliged to explain away his brother's misdemeanour, so it is likely that the state of affairs that caused him to take this step were serious. The Association, however, seems to have been well-versed in the concealment of mismanagement and deceit, and on his resignation Felix was thanked for "the efficient way in which he had performed his duties." (23)

Further evidence concerning the dubious screening of steerage passengers is to be found among the shipping papers. The collection of relevant documents is far from complete but extant papers of the "Randolph" and the "Sir George Seymour" suggest that some passengers almost entirely escaped the Association's selection machinery. As has been mentioned previously, all applicants before the Association's emergency

(22) E. G. Wakefield to Godley, 8th July, 1851 (from Letters from E. G. Wakefield to J. R. Godley Vol.1 p. 187, Turnbull Library.)

(23) Minutes of the Canterbury Association, 26th June, 1851.

order of the 5th of August 1850 had to fill in the Form of Application, receive approval and then pay the required sum before receiving an embarkation order. This seemed absolutely explicit, but there is clear evidence that eighteen passengers in the "Randolph" and three in the "Sir George Seymour," sailed without presenting either an application form or an embarkation order, while fourteen others who joined the "Sir George Seymour" held an application form only.

These last fourteen were probably selected so late that there was no time for them to pass through the Emigration Office, but apparently they passed some of the selection requirements. It is not so easy to account for the other twenty-one - in fact one can almost imagine some nearby vagrants being invited on board as the ropes were slipped, to make up the numbers. In the emergency the Association relaxed its financial requirements applying to steerage passengers. Among the shipping papers of the first four ships there are many copies of promissory notes payable to the Association, a fact which clearly indicates that some passengers did not pay cash for their required proportions of passage money. Had the Association not incurred this unexpected liability its whole plan of emigration must have failed through a shortage of labour but, as it was, the excess expenditure on emigration reacted very adversely on the Association's financial position. (24)

(24) Minutes of the Canterbury Association, 12th June, 1852.

When we consider the whole system of emigration control as applied to the steerage passengers, we are left with the impression that the divergence between the Association's principles and the actual course of events was depressingly wide. If it were not for the fact that mid-Victorian morality is today revered, the allegedly sincere despatch from Alston to Godley about the steerage emigrants on the first four ships, could be dismissed with a smile. "Concerning the question of the character of the labouring immigrants" he wrote - "they have been selected most carefully from great numbers of applicants whose cases have undergone strict investigation." ⁽²⁵⁾ As it is, this statement is smugly false and must be regarded as an indictment of the Association's integrity.

Throughout his connection with the Canterbury settlement, Godley seems to have displayed a far more realistic outlook towards problems of immigration control than the Association's Committee of Management. Godley easily grasped the wider implications of the Canterbury plan but was not led astray by impracticable principles and theories. He insisted first and foremost that the immigrants should be fitted for life in the new settlement, and spoke strongly against any classes not so equipped, which had been sent out by the Association. "I cannot too often repeat" he wrote, "that there are but two classes of persons who succeed in a new country: capitalists and manual labourers.

(25) Alston to Godley, 7th Sept., 1850, reprinted in Canterbury Papers, p. 198.

A very limited number of professional men of course find employment, but, as a general rule, no man should come out who cannot either earn wages by working with his hands, or pay wages to others for doing his work. The class commonly known as distressed needlewomen are not generally fit for domestic service in a new country where many hardships must be endured which they have never been accustomed to undergo." (26)

We have already referred to the clause by which the Association sought to retain its labouring immigrants in Canterbury, (27) but despite this clause, some 500 settlers left Canterbury during the period of Association control. From the end of 1851 until half-way through 1853 the Australian goldfields made heavy demands on Canterbury, a fact which, though unavoidable, was very annoying to land purchasers who expected a guaranteed labour supply. Jacob Faithful in writing to the "Lyttelton Times" pointed out that "this labour has been brought from England under the most extravagant arrangements that any Association could possibly invent and the loss is therefore so much the more serious to us." (28) The paper itself tried to mask the gravity of the situation. (29) The results of the labour shortage were that "capital was chiefly invested in flocks and herds, while all tendency to refinement was grievously checked

(26) Godley to Canterbury Association, July 1851, From Letters and speeches of Godley, p. 208.

(27) Vide Chapter IV, p. 76.

(28) "Lyttelton Times", 11th Dec., 1852.

(29) "A large proportion of the steerage passengers for the goldfields is composed of persons whose departure no one will regret and of whom many are from the neighbouring settlements." "Lyttelton Times," 6th Dec., 1851.

by the want of leisure from manual work." (30) The natural forces of Australia combined with those of Canterbury to defeat the Association's ideals of intensive farming and rigid class distinction.

(30) "Lyttelton Times," A History of Events during 1853, p. 62.

CONCLUSION

To obtain a clear picture of the Canterbury Association's control of immigration it is necessary to refer back to the original plans for the settlement and to the circumstances, both in England and New Zealand, in which these schemes were launched.

As the contemporary flow of emigration from Britain was so great, ⁽¹⁾ the Canterbury Association assumed the responsibility of finding a haven for the emigrants in which it was specifically interested. Canterbury was to be the new home in which a specific faith and a way of life could flourish unimpeded by economic insecurity. The unified Platonic scheme of settlement which was erected to serve these needs, fell a victim to modifying influences both in England and in New Zealand almost as soon as it was launched. The settlement emerged as the resultant of many forces whose nature and effects we must trace.

In England, as we have seen, the scheme enjoyed many advantages in comparison with earlier attempts in the realm of systematic colonisation. The imposing list of Association members was a guarantee of both political power and good faith.

(1) In the years 1850-52 985,579 people emigrated from the British Isles. Carrothers, op. cit., p. 305. (Appendix I.)

The Church's profound interest in the movement added the weight of strong moral support. The scheme was approved by leaders of society and was freely and widely advertised.⁽²⁾ The plans had been scrupulously drawn up and, in the main, embodied the final findings of Wakefield's research on problems of colonisation.

Despite all precautions the whole scheme failed to attract the expected support. Instead of selling at least 1,000,000 acres at £3 an acre out of its 2,400,000 acre block, the Association found difficulty in disposing of 30,000 acres. If we regard the average cost of transporting an emigrant as being £15 (the price of a steerage berth) the sale of 1,000,000 acres would have provided for the passages of some 66,000 settlers from Britain. As it was, the Association had to exceed its available funds by £8705-14-0⁽³⁾ to despatch 3,595 colonists.⁽⁴⁾ In those years in which the Association despatched the bulk of its emigrants, namely 1850-52, no fewer than 125,450 settlers sailed for Australia and New Zealand.⁽⁵⁾ The full figures for the New Zealand immigration in these years are not available. As the numerical increase in the country's population for the period 1851-56 was 18,833⁽⁶⁾ it seems safe to assume that the nett annual excess of immigration over emigration for those years was about 3,000. In its short operative period the Association was

(2) The Association's accounts show that a total of £2702 was spent on advertisements explaining the land and emigration policies. H. S. Selfe, The Accounts of the Canterbury Association with explanatory remarks in a Letter to Lord Lyttelton, p. 67.

(3) Ibid.

(4) This figure is adhered to as it seems that the number of passengers bound for other colonies, was roughly equivalent to the number of Canterbury settlers who sailed in ships not chartered by the Association.

(5) Carrothers, op. cit., p. 305.

(6) Statistics of New Zealand 1853-6, p. IV.

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responsible for less than 35% of New Zealand's immigration, whereas, had the scheme been a success, it ^{would} should surely have accounted for some 70%.

The life span of the Association was surprisingly brief. Selfe points out that "in June 1852 we determined to discontinue all operations in this country [England] on the following 30th of September."⁽⁷⁾ As we shall see later, the decision to dissolve was forced on the Association and was thus an indication of failure. In terms of its projected scale, the whole scheme was most unsuccessful.

Why did the Association's settlement fail to attract large numbers of immigrants from England? Our research has revealed the many mechanical merits of a scheme that seemed to surpass any contemporary rival in its minimising of the hardships of colonisation.

Carrington suggests that 1848 was a very bad year for the launching of great enterprises as only a few months earlier a speculative company for colonising Natal had come to grief.⁽⁸⁾ When the Association was formed, "systematic colonisation" had still to prove itself by a real success, but public suspicion of colonising bodies does not seem a satisfactory explanation of the Association's failure.

It has been pointed out that the price of Canterbury land was not competitive enough but the Association's answer was that its price allowed provision to be made for those most

(7) Selfe, op. cit., p. 50.

(8) Carrington, op. cit., pp. 87-8.

cherished features of the old culture that were absent from most other contemporary colonies. It would be interesting to know what the response would have been had Canterbury land been originally offered at £2 an acre.

The extra £1 required to provide the cultural features of the scheme did not serve its real end of attracting large numbers of the upper class,⁽⁹⁾ but it seems likely that it alienated many valuable settlers from other classes. The wealthy who could afford to buy large areas at £3 an acre, did not feel an urgent need to emigrate. They could afford to wait and note the progress of the new settlement but because they withheld their immediate support, the colony failed to develop as they and the Association desired. The Association made its first mistake in planning an emigration scheme for a class that did not feel a real need to emigrate..

Those whose need to emigrate was urgent found many draw-backs to the Association's scheme. It was a very severe disadvantage to the settlement that from the start the land reservation was conditional and so an aura of uncertainty surrounded the whole venture. Sir James Hight suggests that "the public confidence was never fully won owing to the delays in negotiations with the [New Zealand] Company and the constant fear that the scheme might be abandoned."⁽¹⁰⁾ We shall refer later to the nature of the land reservation. The Association

(9) Ch. II p. 23.

(10) J. Hight, op. cit., p. 12.

appreciated the supreme importance of guaranteeing a secure title to all land purchasers⁽¹¹⁾ but it became a party to an agreement with the New Zealand Company, in which any security of title rested on the early success of the whole venture. The Association seems to have excelled in drawing up the details of administration but displayed a weakness in shaping the broad principles of policy. Its early land policy lacked the positiveness that was necessary to attract the emigrating land purchasers who, in the main, possessed very limited capital.

Another initial weakness of the scheme lay in its narrow religious appeal. Only Anglicans could sit the College examinations and all religious and moral education was dispensed by methods that strictly conformed to the doctrines of the Church of England.⁽¹²⁾ The local newspaper denied charges of bigotry and intolerance by pointing out that if each settler had specified the sect to which his contribution should be given it would have been impossible to establish anything like an effectual system of education.⁽¹³⁾ Perhaps the solution lay in secular schools which would have been more in keeping with the implications of Wakefieldian theory. The specific

(11) "I need not tell your Lordship how sensitive the minds of settlers are on any point that may appear to affect the security of their title, - and how important it is that no doubt should rest upon it." Lyttelton to Earl Grey, 3rd July 1850. - printed in a "Copy of correspondence between the Colonial Office and the Canterbury Association." 1852.

(12) "Lyttelton Times," 1st March 1851.

(13) Ibid., 3rd May 1851.

religious appeal of the colony, which was to have been its strength, seems to have been to a considerable extent its weakness.

So far we have considered defects in the scheme mainly from the land purchaser's point of view, but there were some features of the scheme that affected all classes. Most of the "new lands" offered democratic equality to immigrants whereas Canterbury was to be the last stronghold of an obsolescent pattern of English society. The location of Canterbury must have been a liability, as the United States and Canada were much nearer and the fares were correspondingly cheaper.⁽¹⁴⁾ It is nevertheless noteworthy that the Association's steerage fare (£15) was considerably cheaper than the £18-18-0 charged by the New Zealand Company in 1849.⁽¹⁵⁾ The remoteness of New Zealand severely reduced the poorer emigrant's chances of revisiting his native soil but America feels the breezes "that blow across the seas from Ireland." The United States and the older colonies such as Canada were in parts well-developed and had entered on an era of prosperous expansion and fulfilment, but Canterbury's economic prospects lacked such convincing proof. Perhaps the most powerful deterrent that Canterbury offered the lower classes was that entwining of religion and politics which seemed to forbid them to improve their station in life. The Association's real aims were not materialistic whereas those of most contemporary colonists were decidedly so.

(14) "The Average cost of the passage to America did not exceed £4 per person." Carrothers, op. cit. p. 202.

(15) New Zealand Company Regulations, 1st Aug., 1849. (Copy in Turnbull Library.)

It seems that the Association's plan of settlement revealed many initial deterrents to the emigrating classes but when the scheme was launched fresh difficulties became apparent. The Association obviated some of these difficulties by flexible administration, an example being the two month extension of the time for the receipt of applications for land from first body settlers.⁽¹⁶⁾

Unfortunately the methods used to launch the project prevented any large-scale recasting of the scheme when its impending failure became apparent. The Association had to borrow money to pave the way for its settlers and no doubt it was Wakefield who arranged for the New Zealand Company to make the necessary advance.⁽¹⁷⁾ This unfortunate choice of a creditor and the fact that the initial work of preparation was undertaken on the expectancy of land sales amounting to at least £100,000 in the first year, more or less sealed the fate of the whole enterprise.

In return for the New Zealand Company's advances, the Association undertook not only to repay the loans by regular instalments but also to sell land up to the value of £100,000 by the 30th of April 1850 and up to £50,000 in each succeeding year. As the early sales were so tardy, the Association arranged that sales should be made to the extent of £50,000 by the 31st December 1850 and continue annually at that rate.⁽¹⁸⁾

(16) Selfe, op. cit., p.6.

(17) £20,000 in New Zealand and £25,000 in England.
Ibid. pp. 7-8.

(18) Canterbury Papers, pp. 60-61.

Should the Association fail in this, the Company was to be released from any further reservation of the land on which the settlement was planted. This threat to the whole scheme became very real when the New Zealand Company surrendered its charter in 1850 and the Crown became the Association's (19) creditor. The Crown soon made it clear that it intended to adhere rigidly to the provisions of the Canterbury Settlement Lands Act of the 14th of August 1850, especially those relating to the repayment of loans and the annual rate of land sales. The Association could not comply with these demands and half-way through 1852, a work that had been commenced in a spirit of boundless enthusiasm came to a premature and disappointing close.

For the price of land at £3 an acre, purchasers were promised free communications between different parts of the settlement, a church establishment and collegiate arrangements for the education of their children, as well as a portion of their fares and those of their nominees. These advantages and privileges were advertised as being contingent on the amount received from the sale of land but when the pitiful returns were matched with the Association's early extravagant outlay, they became conditional on the Association's whole financial (20) position.

The only funds that the Association had for use were the £45,000 advanced by the New Zealand Company and three-quarters

(19) Selfe, op. cit., p. 46.

(20) Ibid, pp.8-9.

of the money realised from the sale of land. (Under the terms of the Canterbury Settlement Lands Act the Association undertook to pay 10/- per acre for the land and a further 5/- per acre in reduction of the Association's debt to the New Zealand Company.) The failure to sell land meant that the land fund, which was the material basis of the whole scheme, could not effect its real purposes.

The Association was originally lavish in its outlay and careless about the expenses incurred by some of its officials. The managers of shipping received a total commission of £3499-6-8, and Felix Wakefield in his brief term as agent in charge of land sales, cleared £1310-18-0. (21) Outfits and passages for clergy and teachers cost the Association over £5,000 and it seems that the entire religious and educational funds suffered from the ill-advised actions of Jackson. (22) The Association failed to face the reality of its limited funds and so reduced its chances of redeeming inauspicious beginnings by really successful works in the colony. *possible?*

During 1851 a large amount of the Ecclesiastical fund was invested in land instead of being used for its immediate advertised purposes. This change of plan enabled the Association to honour its sale of land obligations and so prevented the reversion of Canterbury lands to the Crown but it caused undesirable repercussions. Knowing the weakness of the

(21) Selfe, op. cit., p. 63.

(22) Ibid.

Association's financial position, the Crown delayed its
(23)
appointment of a Bishop. Lack of funds delayed the fruition
of many cherished hopes of the Association and "for many years
(24)
the Cathedral site stood bare as a mockery of high endeavour."

Selfe justified the diversion of the Ecclesiastical
funds by pointing out that this move "protected from loss....those
(25)
to whom the colony owed its existence." He went further in
suggesting that "if the churches, schools, parsonages and
larger stipends originally contemplated and desired had been
(26)
provided, there would have been no permanent endowment at all."
These arguments cannot, however, disguise the fact that, by
failing to adhere to its stated programme, the Association must
have lost the faith of many possible emigrants. The Association
deepened this distrust by concealing awkward facts from the
colonists in a manner that earned Selfe's criticism. When the
news of the suspension of public works in the colony reached
England, the Canterbury Papers replied that action had been
taken to provide Godley with the means to resume and complete
(27)
the works. Godley could not indulge in such subterfuge, so
the early settlers were greeted by the disheartening statement;
"as you are probably aware, the means at my disposal are very
(28)
limited."

(23) T. F. Elliot to Alston, 12th Aug., 1852. (Copy of
correspondence between the Colonial Office and the
Canterbury Association.)

(24) Carrington, op. cit., p. 182.

(25) Selfe, op. cit., p. 46.

(26) Ibid., p. 47.

(27) Canterbury Papers, p. 185.

(28) Selfe, op. cit., p. 21.

The Canterbury Plan was not flexible enough to give the colony a really convincing start despite the modest land sales. The Association's financial mismanagement and manoeuvring aggravated the plan's weakness. There was some truth in the complaints of settlers who argued that the Association failed to implement its stated policy. (29) The Association's action in diverting funds was, however, dictated by its financial obligations and by the pressing need to despatch enough emigrants to save the venture from disaster.

So much for the English background of Canterbury colonisation. A plan that did not meet the true needs of either land purchasers or labouring emigrants was implemented in a clumsy, bungling manner. Let us now review the situation in the area to which the Association's thin stream of emigration was directed.

Canterbury was not a vacant area in 1850 and the nature and degree of its economic and social development was obviously destined to modify the Association's plans in practice. The early scene was not a prepossessing one. A broken and scattered Maori population deprived of land and hope was pursuing a shiftless existence along the coasts. The remnants of a former whaling population, including a few families with half-caste children, were settled around the shores of Banks Peninsula. In and about Akaroa an ill-organised and unenterprising French settlement still clung to the traditions

and way of life of a European rural village. Some hard-working farmers had carved out stations on the peninsula and plains while a few more colonial stockmen admitted by Thomas had "squatted" near the site of the proposed city. It is obvious that the pre-settlement of some 600 settlers had no unity, - religious, racial or otherwise, no hierarchy and practically no interest in that spiritual side of man's nature to which the Association applied its efforts. Various local factors, social, economic, political and religious, modified the pattern of the Association's settlement but it is easiest to view this local influence as a whole.

There was a mediaeval flavour to the Association's schemes - a striving for a more or less self-sufficient Utopia unsullied by outside contacts; and a balance between manor and town. The discovery and early settlement of Canterbury was due to spreading maritime contacts and international trade. To further any values of life, whether spiritual or materialistic, Canterbury had to establish its economy by producing its natural staple for export. The Association was slow to realise this, but it fell a victim to overwhelming forces.

It soon became obvious that the new settlement did not flourish in a governmental vacuum. During the period under survey, the fortunes of Canterbury were "in the hands of the Association advised by its chief agent and the Land Purchasers' Society under the supervision of the General Government of New Zealand, which then meant the autocratic rule of Sir George

Grey."⁽³⁰⁾ It was but another failure that there was no self-government in the Wakefieldian sense, during the Association's control of Canterbury. Grey openly attacked the new settlement which seemed so desirous of following an independent course. Collier considers that Grey's motive was the personal one of revenge for Godley's part in the agitation against the Governor,⁽³¹⁾ but it is possible that Grey's liberalism caused him to oppose any settlement based on class distinction. Whatever the cause was, Grey's action in lowering the price of land outside the Canterbury block to 10/- and in some cases 5/- an acre, had profound effects on immigration into Canterbury.

Before Grey made this move, the Association's land policy had proved ill-adapted to local conditions and was, through the medium of complaining letters, inhibiting the flow of English immigration. Grey indirectly forced Godley to abandon the Association's high rental and the restriction of the pre-emptive right of purchase to those who had already purchased land from the Association. The lower rental opened the whole block to quick but sparse settlement and closed the door to the Association's ideal of nucleated rural settlements based on small holdings. The chief result was the admittance of the Australian and other stockmen and the breaking of the policy of exclusiveness. The Grey-Godley conflict served the useful purpose of adjusting Canterbury to the colonial

(30) J. Hight, op. cit., p. 9.

(31) J. Collier, Sir George Grey, p. 74.

environment. The Provincial Waste Lands Act of 1854 ensured that strife between the central government and the local government of Canterbury over the price of Canterbury lands would not arise again.

The admittance of the Shagroons implied some rather undesirable repercussions. Straubel maintains that the Association settlers, who had spent their capital on land at £3 an acre, were not in a position to benefit by the revised land regulations of 1852. Consequently the immigrant stockmen took up the large back-country runs which have in the main remained in the hands of their families ever since. It seems unfortunate that the richest economic fruits of the Association's settlement were picked by outsiders whose economic influence was out of all proportion to their numbers. The influence of the Association's settlers was seen to its best advantage in society and politics. "The character of the newspaper published in the settlement and the high position occupied in politics and general life in New Zealand by Canterbury colonists like FitzGerald, Sewell, Rolleston and others, testify to the high character of the Association's colonists."⁽³²⁾

Before we review the final outcome of the Association's immigration policy we must pay attention to the difficult task performed by Godley. True policy had to emanate from Canterbury and Godley was faced with the difficult task of abandoning theories unsuited to the new colony, while trying to preserve as

(32) J. Hight, op. cit., p. 12. *

much as possible of the essential spirit of the Canterbury plan.

Godley abandoned the notion of religious exclusiveness almost immediately by receiving a deputation of Roman Catholics and non-conformists early in 1851, and allotting them ground⁽³³⁾ for their chapels and cemetery. In this he was merely meeting a need created by the Association's despatch of such settlers. During his period as Chief Agent he was in the vanguard of the movement to change the land regulations which caused colonial immigration to become as important as that from Britain. Although he favoured the lower rental, and the extension of the pre-emptive right to colonial immigrants, Godley did not abandon the sufficient price for Canterbury land. The Association in its negotiations with the Crown was successful in maintaining and handing on to the Provincial Council a tradition of dear land. It is interesting to note that as late as 1873 the nearest approach to Canterbury's £2 an acre⁽³⁴⁾ was the 20/- charged in Southland. The Association was occasionally lax in its selection of emigrants, but the practical Godley used every means in his power to secure settlers who would make the colony really successful despite its inauspicious beginnings. The rush of labourers to the Australian goldfields coincided with the influx of colonial stockmen to upset the Association's hopes of a strict balance between capital and

(33) C. E. Carrington, op. cit., p. 128.

(34) The Province of Canterbury 1873. Information for intending emigrants, p. 68.

(35) labour. There is no evidence to suggest that Godley tried to stem the tide of colonial equality by controlling immigration towards the establishment of a strictly hierarchical society.

By 1853 the settlement had adopted a definite pattern and had become adjusted to colonial life. The 1854 census reveals that in that year the most recently established province was second in the number of sheep grazed and third in the number of cattle but with only 8006½ acres under cultivation Canterbury was agriculturally one of the least productive settlements.

The 1854 census, which was apparently carefully prepared, gives us some figures which we can now use to sum up the results of the period's immigration. First of all it would be useful to note the numerical strength of the Association's contribution to the early population. We noticed that it was not until March 1852 that the Association laid down the land regulations favouring the colonial immigrant stockmen. (36) It is very hard to ascertain the numbers and origins of these immigrants, although we know that approximately 100 entered the settlement from Australia during the period under survey. (37) The 1854 census recorded^d the period's migrations and showed Canterbury to have a population of 3895 excluding the Maoris, "who were in a state of migration when the census was taken." (38)

(35) There were 603 labouring immigrants in the Association's ships but by 1854 there were only 564 labourers and servants in the colony. 1854 census.

(36) Ch. II p. 44.

(37) Ibid., p. 50.

(38) Canterbury Gazette 1853-4 No. 12 p. 3.

<u>Date of entering the colony.</u>	<u>Census figures.</u>	<u>Association Settlers.</u>	
1851 or before	2391	2850 (approx.)	(39)
1852	422	420 (")	
1853	376	220 (")	
1854	<u>82</u>	<u> </u>	
	<u>3271</u>	<u>3490</u>	

The disparity between the total of 3271 above and the census total of 3895 must be accounted for by the children who were born in the settlement during the period.

It can be seen at a glance how until 1853 the Association settlers dominated immigration. If we assume that (40) the whole 500 who left the colony in search of greener fields or gold were Association settlers, we find that the remaining Association immigrants account for 77% of the population. We notice too that the most effective ingress of colonial immigrants occurred shortly after the Association deserted its theories and followed a policy that suited the true nature of Canterbury. It is clear that capitalists were enticed into the settlement by the appropriate economic stimulus rather than by the Association's ideals and, more or less in the same manner,

(39) The figures for the Association settlers are given approximately because of the difficulty in ascertaining the numbers of settlers for other colonies who sailed in Association ships.

(40) Ch. IV p. 86.

many steerage immigrants had to be paid to go to Canterbury. It seems that in the long run, a desire to enter Canterbury was the main selective criterion applied to immigrants of any class during the Association's period of control but this does not mean that the Association's standards were completely abrogated.

We have noted some of the modifications to the original plan that were caused by the poor response to the Association's call for emigrants. The religious requirements were never formally abandoned although they were relaxed in favour of land purchasers, some nominated emigrants, and apparently in some other cases. ⁽⁴¹⁾ The census of 1854 suggests that Association policy was up to that date, definitely successful in making Canterbury into an Anglican colony. ⁽⁴²⁾ In 1848 non-Anglicans in Canterbury totalled 173 - a number that had by 1854 risen to 670. In the actual settlement period there is no available evidence that colonial immigrants were excluded on religious grounds. Many of these newcomers were undoubtedly non-Anglicans so it can be seen that in respect of its own colonists, the Association adhered fairly closely to its stated plans. Even in 1848 Anglicanism was the most prominent religion in Canterbury and in 1854 its position was assured, yet the

(41) Ch. IV p.77.

(42) Religious census: Church of England 3225, Wesleyan 190, Presbyterian 291, Independent 37, Baptist 16, Roman Catholic 111, Others 25.
Canterbury Gazette, 1853-4. No. 14 pp. 2-3.

fact that a few hundred members of other churches entered the new colony, and a few Anglicans left, seems to have engendered the false impression that the Church's position was not strong during the Association period. (43) A religious census of 1859 gives us clear proof that the Association succeeded in making Canterbury an Anglican settlement. The percentages of Anglicans in the four main provinces were as follows:-

Auckland	45.82
Wellington	54.60
Canterbury	72.88
Otago	25.50

Pioneering is essentially a task for young settlers and it is not surprising that census figures showed that youth predominated throughout the whole colony. Early census returns did not divide the population into age groups but the 1864 census showed that with 89% of the European population under 40 years of age Canterbury was in fact "the youngest province," although Otago followed closely behind with 88% in this category. (44) That the Association's settlers were healthy is suggested by the fact that there were only 21 invalids in Canterbury when the 1854 census was taken.

We have already referred to the Association's failure

(43) "Their number may not have been very great [the Pilgrims who went to Australia] but their departure made a serious difference to the proportionate strength of Anglicanism." H. T. Purchas, Bishop Harper and the Canterbury Settlement, p. 44.

(44) Statistics of New Zealand 1864, Part I No. 1.

to equate the number of single women immigrants with that of the single men. ⁽⁴⁵⁾ This disparity in numbers between the sexes was a feature of early New Zealand life and there is no evidence to suggest that the planned settlements handled the problem any better than did the colonies that had been more spontaneously populated. In 1854 the major provinces were shown to include the following percentages of females.

Auckland	44%
Wellington	47%
Canterbury	44%
Otago	45%

(46)

A review of national literacy taken in 1856 does not suggest that early Canterbury was outstanding in this respect. With 62.90% of the population who could both read and write, Canterbury was third to Nelson and New Plymouth whose percentages were 67.08 and 64.43 respectively.

One of the characteristics that differentiated Canterbury most sharply from the other nascent provinces was the predominantly English nature of its population. ⁽⁴⁷⁾ This fact, paralleling the predominance of Anglicanism, gave a stamp of English unity to Canterbury. The chances of an English way of life emerging in the new settlement were enhanced by the fact that so many of the early settlers were British born. A comparison with some other provinces shows the importance of

(45) Ch. III p. 67.

(46) New Zealand Statistics 1854.

(47) English 3290, Scots 314, Irish 162, French 67, German 24, Others 38. (The Maoris were not included.)
New Zealand Statistics 1854.

British immigration to the organised settlements of Canterbury and Otago.

(48)

PERCENTAGE OF PLACES OF BIRTH.

	<u>England</u>	<u>Ireland</u>	<u>Scotland</u>	<u>Total</u>
Auckland	30.08	15.26	9.28	54.62
Wellington	43.48	5.78	9.90	59.16
Canterbury	60.61	4.62	6.97	72.20
Otago	19.30	2.97	50.47	72.74

The Association never abandoned its preference for immigrants direct from Britain, and before its dissolution, arrangements were made for the continued recruiting and despatch of such settlers. When the Provincial Council resumed the task of immigration control it adopted a policy which, while definitely following the Association's general aims, sought to avoid its worst mistakes.

The nomination system, which was never a real success, came to an end when the land sales in England ceased, but the Provincial Government saw the necessity of subsidising the fares of labouring emigrants up to one half. The new regulations adhered to a system of selection with respect to occupation, character and age but avoided some of the weaknesses of the Association's policy by placing assisted immigrants under contract to the Provincial Government and insisting that all fares, or required portions thereof, be paid before embarkation. (49)

(48) New Zealand Statistics 1859-61, p. IV.

(49) Canterbury Gazette, 1853-4 No. 12. p.3.

One of the Provincial Council's first moves was to make provision "for the immigration of persons from England or other parts into the Province of Canterbury."⁽⁵⁰⁾ The importance of Australia as a source of immigrants - especially capitalists - was recorded by one of FitzGerald's resolutions which suggested the setting up of land sales agencies in Sydney and Melbourne.⁽⁵¹⁾ The new governing body adopted Godley's suggestion regarding the immigration of friends of Canterbury residents provided the latter paid the fares in advance.⁽⁵²⁾

Although we have dwelt at length on the difficulties involved and the failures that ensued when an exotic theory was put to practice in Canterbury we must conclude with the view that the overall result was praiseworthy. The Association-fostered immigration fell far short of its goal but the nucleus that was established bore unmistakeable parental traits. It was perhaps an advantage that the Association failed to people Canterbury in accordance with its full wishes as the province would have emerged as a particularist stronghold, out of touch with and opposed to the rest of New Zealand.

As it was, the colony was distinctive in its possession of liberal endowments for religious and cultural institutions and in the calibre of its intellectual and political leaders. By 1854 Canterbury was a separate entity marked by strong

(50) Canterbury Ordinances, Session II No. 4.

(51) Journal of Proceedings, C.P.C. Session VIII p. 252.

(52) Canterbury Gazette 1853-4, No. 12. p. 3.

individuality and eminently suited to Provincial Government. The new settlement had avoided the evils of convict immigration and violence against the native population. The settlers were predominantly Anglican, young, healthy and well-qualified economically. The Association ensured that Canterbury had a racial and religious unity but the permissive attitude adopted towards immigrants of other creeds and from neighbouring colonies helped to adjust the settlement to its New Zealand context. The central position of Christchurch presaged its undisputed hegemony in Canterbury. The Pilgrims from their cultural stronghold controlled the vast majority of educative media - schools, societies, the press, church and the provincial government. The nucleus though small was well-equipped to set and maintain the standards of conduct and way of life that reflected the true spirit of the Association's enterprise. There is a nobility in a course of action that aims to transcend the material factors that rule our lives and the Association gained a real success by transplanting its idealism into a spiritual wilderness.

APPENDIX I

THE ASSOCIATION'S EMIGRANT SHIPS

	SHIP	TONN- AGE	TOTAL COST OF CHARTER.	LEFT ENG.	ARRIVED N.Z.	1st CABIN PASS- ENGERS	2nd CABIN PASS- ENGERS	STERAGE PASS- ENGERS	TOTAL
1	Charlotte Jane	730	£2318:13:5	7. 9.50	16.12.50	27	21	102	150
2	Randolph	761	2373:16:0	7. 9.50	16.12.50	34	14	164	212
3	Cressy	720	2298: 5:0	7. 9.50	27.12.50	27	23	165	215
4	Sir George Seymour	850	2920: 0:0	7. 9.50	16.12.50	42	19	144	205
5	Castle Eden	930	2786: 8:0	25. 9.50	7. 2.51	28	33	130	191
6	Isabella Hercus	618	1802: 5:0	21.10.50	1. 3.51	25	16	107	148
7	Travancore	582	1788: 0:0	2.11.50	3. 3.51	7	18	147	172
8	Duke of Bronte	500	1537: 0:0	8. 1.51	6. 6.51	22	8	101	131
9	Steadfast	534	1770: 9:0	25. 2.51	6. 6.51	14	25	96	135
10	Labuan	547	1801: 4:0	8. 4.51	14. 8.51	29	34	74	137
11	Bangalore	877	2460:10:0	8. 5.51	31. 8.51	10	24	126	160
12	Dominion	584	2135:12:6	8. 5.51	21. 8.51	29	8	82	119
13	Lady Nugent	668	2222:12:9	28. 5.51	18. 9.51	13	15	124	152
14	Duke of Portland	533	1744: 0:0	10. 6.51	26. 9.51	12	18	119	149
15	Midlothian	483	1635: 6:0	18. 6.51	8.10.51	31	19	76	126
16	Canterbury	815	2638:17:6	18. 6.51	31.10.51	29	11	103	143
17	Sir George Pollock	630	1921: 8:0	15. 7.51	10.11.51	35	14	113	162
18	Cornwall	580	1853:11:6	12. 8.51	15.12.51	26	37	51	114
19	Fatima	521	1672: 2:6	10. 9.51	27.12.51	33	34	44	111
20	William Hyde	533	1646: 8:0	15.10.51	2. 2.52	19	35	62	116
21	Stag	678	1921: 2:6	31.12.51	? ?	32	16	54	102
22	Samarang	582	Figure not available.	24. 3.52	2. 8.52	14	20	82	116

APPENDIX I Cont'd.

	SHIP	TONN- AGE	TOTAL COST	LEFT ENG.	ARRIVED N.Z.	1st CABIN PASS- ENGERS	2nd CABIN PASS- ENGERS	STEEAGE PASS- ENGERS	TOTAL
23	Duke of Portland)					22	14	70	106
24	Minerva)					28+Chn.	28+Chn.	43	99+
25	Tasmania)					20	15	45	78
26	Hampshire)					31	-	15	46
	Total of 26 ships		Total Cost of 21 ships= £43247:11:8			639+	517+	2439	3595+

APPENDIX II

Occupations of steerage passengers in ships numbered 1-22
(excluding No. 19, "Fatima.")

Agent	1
Agricultural labourers	
and labourers,	388
Agricultural machinist,	3
'Anything,'	4
Baker,	6
Blacksmith,	7
Blindmaker,	1
Brewer,	1
Bricklayer,	15
Brickmaker,	7
Butcher,	3
Cabinet maker,	1
Carpenter,	48
Cartwright,	1
Coachman,	1
Cooper,	1
Cow-keeper,	2
Dairy-woman,	1
Domestic servant,	142
Dressmaker,	1
Excavator,	1
Farmer,	5
Farrier,	1
Gardener,	32
Governess,	3
Grazier,	2
Grocer,	2
Groom,	1
Iron moulder,	1
Lighterman,	4
Malster,	2
Mechanic,	12
Miller,	8
Milliner,	2
Nurse,	3
Painter,	2
Paper-stainer,	1
Pawnbroker,	1
Plumber,	3
Printer,	4
Quarryman,	3
Sailor,	3
Sawyer,	2
School mistress,	5
Seamstress,	5
Settler,	1
Shepherd,	25
	<u>768</u>

Carried Forward:-	768
Shoemaker,	8
Stonemason,	7
Storekeeper,	2
Surveyor,	4
Tailor,	9
Tanner,	1
Turner,	2
Upholsterer,	2
Well-borer,	1
Wheelwright,	10
Whitesmith,	<u>2</u>
Total.	<u>816</u>

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